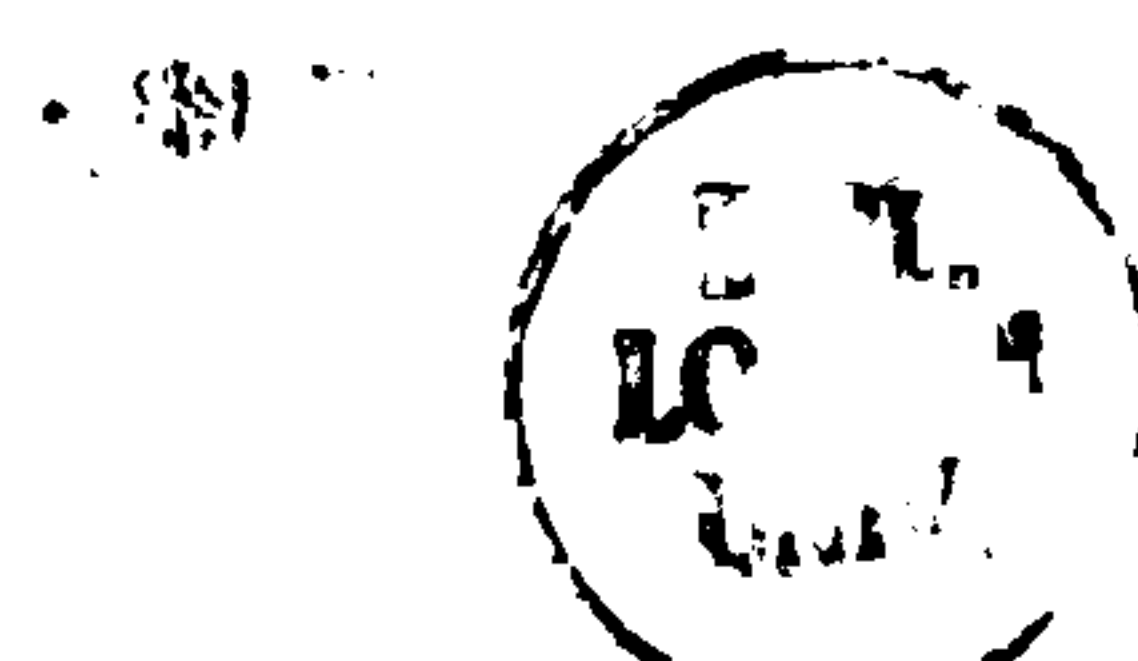


*FIRST EDITION OF LITERARY,  
SUB-LITERARY AND DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI  
FROM OXYRHYNCHUS*

A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.  
in the University of London by

Rosalia Hatzilambrou

University College London



## ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis is an *editio princeps* with transcriptions, translations and commentaries of twenty-two previously unedited papyrus Greek texts from Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt, all edited or assigned to the Roman Period, namely from the first century B.C. to the fourth A.D. It offers a balanced mixture of assorted Literary, Subliterary texts and Documents. Specifically, on the literary side, Homer and Demosthenes, the most popular authors in Egypt, are represented with one and five pieces respectively. All these texts are interesting with respect to the textual tradition of these particular authors. The rest of the literary and subliterary pieces are ‘new texts’, including Scholia Minora to *Iliad* 1, Commentary on *Odyssey* 3, a fragment of the lost author Dictys Cretensis, historical and oratorical prose, and two very short fragments. An eclectic collection of nine documents is edited in the second part of the thesis: five official, namely two declarations of sheep and a census-return of early date, a petition and an order to summons, and four private documents, that is an acknowledgement of indebtedness, a sale of land, and two letters. All these documents are of interest, since they provide information regarding economy, administration, legal system, prosopography, literacy, language and other aspects of a hellenised provincial society under Roman rule.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an *editio princeps* with transcriptions, translations and commentaries of twenty-two previously unedited papyrus texts, discovered at the ancient site of Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt (about 180 km. south of Cairo) during the six excavation-campaigns of B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt at the beginning of the twentieth century. All pieces are dated or assigned to the Roman Period, namely from the first century B.C. to the fourth A.D., and preserve texts written in Greek.

More specifically, this thesis is divided into two main parts, offering a balanced mixture of Literary and Subliterary Texts (A) and Documents (B). In the first part the two most popular authors in Egypt, Homer and Demosthenes, are represented with one (1) and five (4-8) pieces respectively. The Homeric piece, a codex which covers a substantial amount of text from the first book of *Iliad*, is frequently cited as 771 in the corresponding places of the *apparatus criticus* of the recent Teubner edition by M. West. All these texts are interesting with respect to the textual tradition of these particular authors, for they provide ancient evidence of the texts preserved, are of greater importance for the text covered in 5, 6, and 8, of which no other papyri have been hitherto published, and offer some unique and minority readings. Revealing of Homeric studies and scholarship in antiquity are 2 and 3, which preserve Scholia Minora to *Iliad* 1, and Commentary on *Odyssey* 3 respectively. Especially the latter, assigned to the second century A.D., increases our knowledge on the form, structure and richness of ancient commentaries. Among the highlights of this thesis are three new literary texts: thirteen almost complete lines from the Greek original of *Belli Troiani Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis (11), assigned to the (early?) II century, the third piece hitherto published of this lost author; a fragmentary piece of historical content (12), which has a good chance of preserving text from the *History* of Ephorus; extensive but fragmentary oratorical prose with ambiguous references to the Delphic Amphictyony, most likely part of a historical declamation (13). Finally, the first part of the thesis includes two very small pieces (9 and 10) which may preserve prose and poetic text respectively.

The second part brings together nine assorted documents, both official and private, covering all the centuries of Roman rule in Egypt. Unexpectedly interesting are two declarations of sheep (14 and 15) of early date, namely 3 B.C. and 67 A.D.

respectively. Next to come is a return of the census of 75 A.D. (16), that is of a very poorly represented census-year as regards both the quantity and quality of returns, an observation valid for the entire first century. 14 and 16 provide also evidence for two new strategi and one new royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite. Outstanding for its glimpse into the secluded life of an Egyptian temple from the viewpoint of temple-attendants of lower status is the incomplete petition in all likelihood to the epistrategus (17). Additionally, this document is of great lexicographical interest. The section of the official documents ends with an order to summons, dated to the fourth century (18). Four private documents comprise the last chapters of the thesis: an acknowledgement of indebtedness between two prominent members of the Oxyrhynchite society, of whom one may be identified with Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, the earliest attested *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus (19); a long but heavily fragmentary sale of land (20); and finally two letters (21 and 22), both offering allusions to official procedures for settling disputes between citizens.



## A. LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY PAPYRI

### I. HOMER AND HOMERICA

1<sup>1</sup>

HOMER, *ILIAD* 1. 326-450

67 6B.14/K (1)

17 x 26.4 cm.

late III - early IVA.D.

Plates I.-II.

A leaf of a light-coloured papyrus codex. The text written in black ink which at some points has faded considerably due to abrasion, preserves *Iliad* 1.326-391 on the → side, which was the right-hand page, and 1.392-450 on the ↓, the left-hand page. There are 66 lines on the → side, but seven fewer on the ↓. This remarkable difference becomes more surprising due to the stichometry marked almost in the middle of both lower margins. The total of the number of lines copied on both pages is given through the enlarged and calligraphically drawn figure of ξδ (= 64), most probably by the same hand, normally a strong indication that 'a professional scribe has been at work' (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.16).<sup>2</sup> The stichometric figure is apparently wrong. We have either to reckon with the possibility of miscalculation, or with scribal inadvertence to fit, perhaps following instructions, a certain portion of text in a page. If so, although the scribe did not achieve his goal, he still marked the expected stichometry. There may also be some possibility that the stichometry was marked in advance, before the copying of the lines. In any case, the layout of the two columns is revealing of the effort of the incompetent copyist to accommodate on each page the anticipated number of lines: on the → side the hand displays the regular height (averaging c.2 mm.) and interlinear space, but in the first six and the last seven lines of the column, where the handwriting appears crabbed. On the ↓

<sup>1</sup> It appears as P.Oxy.ined.771 in the apparatus criticus of the edition of ML. West, *Homerus Ilias*, where the piece is frequently cited. In 1.328 the papyrus is wrongly reported to read τε επι κλιςιας, and in 1.414 to read ετρεφον, which is totally omitted.

<sup>2</sup> The standard study on stichometry still remains the work by Ohly, 1928, *passim*; see in particular chapter IV (pp.86-125), where the primary purpose of the marking of stichometry is discussed, namely the calculation of the scribe's payment.



side, the reduced size of hand and interlinear space is preserved up to half page down, when the copyist realised that he would have to leave part of the page empty, and considerably increased letter-height and interlinear space (it reaches again 2 mm.).

The same tendency to irregularity is observed in the dimensions of the margins. The upper margins, both probably original, amount to 0.5 cm. on the → side and 1 cm on the ↓, while the lower margins, similarly preserved intact, measure 2.6 and c.1.4 cm. respectively. The customary ratio 3:2 of the lower margin to the upper one is not respected on the → side (Turner, 1977, p.25). The right-hand side margins on both sides are c.3 cm. at their narrowest points. Part of the left-hand side margin amounting to 0.8 cm. has survived on the → side, but originally it could have been equal to the right-hand side one. Thus, the height of the codex measuring 26.3 cm., and the breadth of the original page calculated at c.19 cm., would classify our codex as an early example among Turner's Aberrants of Group 4 (Turner, 1977, p.16). A kollesis is discernible on the → side, falling almost in the middle of the right-hand side margin. This along with two vertical creases (11.5 and 6 cm. from the right-hand side) indicate that the codex originated from a papyrus-roll, according to the standard practice (see Turner, 1977, pp.44ff.). The existence of the former crease on the piece already before the copying of the text, should be implied by the space left by the scribe in l.355 at the very point of the crease, where the papyrus may have appeared fragile. Along the latter crease and up to l.348, a large piece of the papyrus has broken away, while many holes of various sizes spoil the surface of the leaf. Maas' Law, that is the practice of the scribes' to begin progressively further to the left, as they work towards the foot of the column, is observed on the → side (on this see further Johnson, 1993a, pp.211-215).

The text is written in a single broad column. It is easily calculated that five pages averaging 65 lines would have accommodated ll.1-325, and c.2.5 pages ll.451-611, that is 9.5 pages would have contained the whole first book of the *Iliad*. At the top outside edge of the → side is placed the pagination ι, in the same hand of the original scribe. This page numeration would indicate than another work preceded the first book of the *Iliad* in the codex, probably a kind of Homerica, a hypothesis and/or scholia minora. Additionally, the even pagination on a right-hand page of a codex would suggest that the page numeration started on an inside left-hand side, which would further imply that the text under this pagination began on a left-hand page. Justification for this practice is

provided in Turner, 1977, pp.76-7. Next to the pagination on the → side is preserved a squiggle, likely by the same hand, resembling a cursive μ or κα. The best guess I could make, since it cannot be a quire number, is that it may stand for μῆνις, if it is actually a μ.

The codex is written in an inelegant, fairly rapid hand of informal and ‘workday’ type. It becomes coarser on the ↓ side, since some physical resistance was produced to the pen by the fibres. Slightly sloping rightwards, and round, the hand is mainly characterised by noticeable irregularity in the drawing of some letters, which are not always made with the same ductus; υ, for instance, is written in a single movement, beginning at top left, proceeding to top right and then descending to the foot, or first drawing the whole stem and then returning to the right-hand arm, or even in two movements, firstly writing the curved left-hand arm, and then beginning at top right drawing the rest of the letter in an almost straight line. Irregularity also refers to angle of slope, size and ornamentation. Bilinearity is only violated by υ, φ, ρ and slightly χ. Ornamentation by means of loops (in some α, δ, μ), serifs (in ι, κ, c, τ, χ), blobs (in some δ, ι, μ, ν, ω). Although letters are written separately, they often touch each other, e.g. through the projecting rightwards cross-bars of ε and θ; other cursive tendencies are displayed, e.g. in forms of the always round α, ε, μ, ν and ω. Worthy of attention are the following letters: the large and with almost triangular ‘bowl’ φ; β with large and flattened lower curve resting on a long horizontal; curved μ with bow reaching the baseline; δ with long basis and right-hand diagonal projecting upwards and sometimes capping the left-hand one; the small and suspended ο; narrow and oval θ; the almost ‘close’ c, and curved ε resembling ο and θ respectively; ξ in a single sequence of five movements; ψ with arms forming right-angle; finally, the flat and large ω with a blob as middle stroke. Such a hand which suggests an informal example of a common style is difficult to date with precision. I think that the hands in Cavallo-Maehler’s, *GBEBP* 2 and 3, all assigned to early fourth century, provide close parallels. There are also notable affinities with Roberts, *GLH* 22a and d from the Heroninus Archive, dated to the middle of third century. Thus, a date in the late third century or early fourth for our papyrus would be more likely.

Diaresis is used organically (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.10) on the υ of ευζωνοιο (l.429) and possibly on the ι of οιω (l.427, I think I see a dot on the right-hand side of the letter), in



the first instance as two small strokes. Elision is effected tacitly, wherever required. The extension of τ in l.345 could function as an apostrophe to mark elision. Iota adscript is never marked, apart from l.450, where it seems corrected on the top of c. In front of ll.344 and 355/356 on the → side traces suggest paragraphi of an oblique form ascending rightwards. As Priest (1982, p.59) explained, the evident reason for the distinctive shape of the paragraphi is to avoid confusion with the obelos. The two sigla preserved in our piece mark the end of speeches. Because of the breaking off of most part of the left-hand side margin, there is no room for checking the consistency of the scribe. Paragraphi of the same function and shape are marked against l.345, in P.Mich.2810, and of the familiar horizontal shape above l.345 in P.Soc.Pap.Alex.230, and above l.357 in P.Soc.Pap.Alex.230 and P.Stras.31+32. For this use of paragraphi and further examples, see McNamee, 1982, pp.17-8 and Table 2.D. The treatment of the movable-v at the end of the verse does not follow consistently a certain pattern. The ‘norm’ that in the papyri of the Roman period and medieval manuscripts the movable-v is written only when the following line begins with a vowel (see S. West, 1967, p.17, and Bolling, 1945, pp.181-4), is obeyed in ll.361 and 418 but not in ll.388 and 421 (the end of ll.326 and 379 is lost). Neither is apparently observed the tendency of the Ptolemaic papyri and Ionic and Attic inscriptions of seventh to fifth centuries (Threatte I, pp.640-43) to mark it always, without taking into account the beginning of the following line (see M. West, Praef.III.5). The scribe (or the one of his exemplar) was prone to superficial errors, in particular phonetic ones, and omissions. In some cases he corrected them, most likely *currente calamo*, but many are left intact. Apparently, this piece has not gone through proper revision.

The text of this papyrus follows in principle the vulgate, which according to Haslam (1997, p.63) in the case of Homer, should define ‘the collectivity of all readings in subsequent general circulation, as distinct from the different textual instantiations of the early Ptolemaic manuscripts’<sup>3</sup>. Our piece offers some *unique readings*, none very exciting, of which the following merit attention: 332 ουδε τε μιν: οὐδέ τί μιν; 335 υπαιτιοι: ἐπαίτιοι; 336 ουνε[κ]α: εἵνεκα; 347 δωκεν: δῶκε δ’; 359 ανεβη: ἀνέδυ; 394 δη οἱ: δῆ τι; 413 θεα θετις αργυροπεζα: θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα; 422

<sup>3</sup> For the dangers of misinterpretation of the term ‘vulgate’ in Homeric scholarship, see Haslam, 1997, p.63.

πολεμου: πολέμου δ'. With the exception of the first one, the rest offer *lectiones deteriores*. Without taking into account cases of common phonetic errors, almost thirty 'new' readings are still to be dismissed as corruptions or careless slips in terms of grammar, syntax and metre, without including the totally corrupt l.381. Most of the times, when tradition appears divided, the papyrus substantiates the majority reading, but there are a few interesting instances, when a minority reading is bolstered, among which the following are worth mentioning: 336 ὄ against ὄc ; 342 ὅλοιηαι against ὅλοηαι; 447 οἶδ' (or οἱ δ' or οἷ δ') against τοῖ δ' (or τοίδ'); 336 σφῶιν against σφῶι; 424 ἔπονται against ἔποντο; and 344 μαχέοντο. Among these, the first two are considered *lectiones meliores* and are printed by West. Expectedly, the proportion of Alexandrian scholars' readings in our text is very low. Out of ten Zenodotean 'readings' that apply to our text, only three are supported (two in l.336, and one in l.434), the third along with the majority of the testimony. Of course in Zenodotus' case, who is the earliest in the line of Alexandrian commentators of Homer, the picture gets murkier, since we reach him 'only through the filter of Aristarchus a century later' (Haslam, 1997, p.72, and see the bibliography cited there on Zenodotus). Half of Aristarchus' readings are passed over: among fourteen offered readings, six -of which only two are on the side of minority readings (ll.336 and 424)- are endorsed by our papyrus. Haslam (1997, p.85) argues that the unsupported individual readings, of Aristarchus in particular, do not contradict the fact that he must mainly have established 'the vulgate'. Regarding the second type of Alexandrian scholarly proposal for 'amelioration' of the text, that is athetesis, our piece is of no help, since the loss of left-hand side margin and along with it of any marginal sigla, does not let us know whether they were 'approved'. Moreover, our piece supports none of the modern conjectures.

The collation takes as basis the detailed apparatus of the edition of ML. West, *Homerus Ilias* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998) which notes the readings of the edited Homeric papyri and of some hundreds inediti from the P.Oxy. collection. I have also consulted the editions of TW. Allen, *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford, 1931), and H. van Thiel, *Homeri Ilias* (Zürich and New York, 1996). In supplementing lacunae and dividing the scriptio plena in the articulated transcription I have followed West's edition. The sigla used are mainly those of this recent Teubner edition (explained in pp.xxxviii-lxii) with few exceptions: for practical reasons, in the commentary I have introduced the non-



scholarly siglum Π to denote collectively the rest of the papyri which preserve the particular line; moreover, codd. is employed referring to the medieval manuscripts, when editions do not give any information about the acceptable ‘vulgate’ reading in the various manuscripts, which I have assumed is normally and generally read in them; additionally, in a papyrological thesis I felt I should designate the papyri, where not collectively, by their edition’s name and not by the system of numbers, namely Allen’s list as extended successively by Collart, Mette, Sutton and now West. Finally, in the commentary I do not cite variants with respect to different accentuation, aspiration, division of scriptio plena, and marking of iota adscript, since our text is inconclusive as regards such issues.

Papyri overlapping with the text edited here apart from the famous P.Ambros.Gr.F.205 inf.(1019) are the following:

BKT 5.1.4 (inv.9584, ed.by Müller, 1993, p.6) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 609, Sutton/ West p130) I A.D., 1.449-461.

P.Stras.inv.Gr.83 (ed. by Schwartz, 1954, pp.63-65) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 601, Sutton/ West p380) I? A.D., 1.339-364, 374-375, 377-383, 392, 395-397.

BKT 5.1.3 (inv.6869+7492-5+21158) + P.Aberd. 134 (reed. by Maehler - Müller - Poethke, 1976, pp.6-12) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 572 + 2787, Sutton p116+117+129+133+135, West 116) I/II A.D., 1.54-64, 71-104, 114-123, 131-164, 338-343, 412-432, 456-465, 494-534, 537-75, 576-590, 602-609.

P.Fay. 141 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 596, Sutton/ West p125) I/II A.D., 1.273-362.

P.Bodl.Libr.Gr. class. e58(f) (mentioned by FG. Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p.139) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 598, Sutton / West p126) I/II A.D., 1.298-333.

P.Fay.5 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 606, Sutton / West p19) II A.D., 1.404-447.

P.Tebt.2.425 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 600, Sutton / West p127) II A.D., 1.311-327.

P.Hamb.III 194 (inv.780) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Sutton / West p533) II A.D., 1.360-372.

P.Mich.2810 (ed. by Schwartz, 1962, pp.147-151, reed. by Priest, 1982, pp.31-50) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 599, Sutton / West p379) II A.D., 1.308-375, 397-520.

P.Mich.4457a (ed. by Priest, 1982, p.69) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Sutton / West p532) II A.D., 1.340-346.

P.Stras.inv.Gr.31+32 (ed. by Schwartz, 1954, pp.45-62) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 591, Sutton / West 377) II A.D., 1.215-442.



PLB 25.6 + PLG 35 (= P.Mon.II 35) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Sutton / West p456c) II A.D., 1.384, 415-420, 402-435, 481-507, 510-544. Identified as part of the same roll by Andorlini, 1997, pp.197-8.

P.Yale I 4 (inv.489) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Sutton / West p534) II A.D., 1.361-393.

P.Soc.Pap.Alex. inv.230 (ed. by Schwartz, 1947, pp.30-32) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 602, Sutton / West p381) III A.D., 1.342-390.

P.Soc.Pap.Alex. inv.244 (ed. by Schwartz, 1947, pp.32-33) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 605, Sutton p82, West 382) III? A.D., 1.401-6, 437-442, 450-1.

P.Flor.II 106 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 604, Sutton / West p54) III A.D., 1.370-405, 428-475.

P.Oxy.III 538 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 595, Sutton / West p61) III A.D., 1.273-342.

P.Rain.inv.26728 (descr. by H. Gerstinger, *Arch.Bibl.* 1 (1926) 87-88) (Pack<sup>2</sup>, Sutton / West p289) III A.D., 1.343-360, 378-395.

P.Laur.III 51 (Pack<sup>2</sup> / Sutton / West add.) III/IV A.D., 1.310-329.

BKT 5.1.5 (inv.10574, ed. by Poethke, 1994, p.2) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 607, Sutton / West p128) IV A.D., 1.406-419.

PSI II 113 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 608, Sutton / West p99) V A.D., 1.413, 439-456, 459-479, 492-493, 503-514.

PSI inv.1986a (ed. by Andorlini in Manfredi, 2000, p.15) (Pack<sup>2</sup>, Sutton / West add.), I/II A.D., 1.409-413. Line 412 in this piece is wrongly supplemented.

P.Oxy.ined.1 (West 772)

P.Oxy.ined.2 (West 773)

P.Oxy.ined.3 (West 774)

P.Oxy.ined.4 (West 775)

P.Oxy.ined.5 (West 777)

P.Oxy.ined.6 (West 779)

P.Oxy.ined.7 (West 780)

P.Oxy.ined.8 (West 781)

P.Oxy.ined.9 (West 782)

P.Oxy.ined.10 (West 783)

P.Oxy.ined.11 (West 784)

P.Oxy.ined.12 (West 785)

P.Oxy.ined.13 (West 786)

P.Oxy.ined.14 (West 787)

P.Oxy.ined.15 (West 789)

I have also checked the readings of the following *Homerica*, namely scholia, scholia minora and glossaries:

P.Lit.Palau Rib.inv.147 (ed. by Daris, 1974, pp.7-20) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Raffaelli 013, Sutton / West h19) II A.D., to 1.191-416.

BKT 5.1.6 (inv.10577, reed. by Henrichs, 1971b, pp.252-255) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1166, Raffaelli 017, Sutton / West h24) II A.D., to 1.338-349.

P.Köln inv.2281 (ed. by Henrichs, 1971b, pp.229-260) (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Raffaelli 016, Sutton / West h23) II A.D., to 1.318-416, 512-610.

P.Stras.inv.Gr.33 (reed. by Henrichs, 1971a, pp.119-148) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1163, Raffaelli 011, Sutton / West h15) II A.D., to 1.148-361.

P.Oxy.III 418 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1164, Sutton h20, West add.) II/III A.D., to 1.263f., 399.

P.Oxy.XLV 3238 (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Raffaelli 018, Sutton / West h25) III A.D., to 1.405-538, 2.385-393.

2 in this volumeP.Oxy.ined.16

→

ι μ

.[.]ειπωνπροεικρατερονδεπιμυθονετ. . .[

. . .δαεκοντεβατηνπαραθιναλοατρυγε.[

μυρμιδον.νδεπιτεκλiscia.καινηαcικεcθ[

το.δευρονπαρατεκληcιηκαινηιμελαιν.

5 ημενονουδαρατωγειδωνγηθηcεναχιλλε[

τωμενταρβηcαντεκαιαιδομενωβαcιλ.[

.τητηνουδετεμινπροceφωνεονου.ερεο[

.υτ. .οεγνωηcινενιφρεcιφωνηcεντε

χαιρετε.ηρυκεcδιοcαγγελοιηδεκαιανδρω[

10 .ccονιτ[.]υτιμ[.]ιυμμεcυπαιτιοιαλλαγαμ.[

οcφωινπροειβ[. . . .]δοcουνε[.]ακουρηc

αλλαγεδι.γενεcπατροκλειcεξαγεκουρην

- κ. ις φωνδοσαγειντωδ αυτω μαρτυροιεστω[  
 . ροστεθεων μακαρων προστεθνητων ανθ[  
 15 και προ του βασιληος απηνεοσει ποτε δ αυτε  
 χριω μειογενηται αιει κεαλοιγονα μυναι  
 . οιαλλοις ηγαρο γολοις ιφρεσι θυει  
 ουδε τι ο. δενοησαι αμα προσω και οπισω  
 / οπως σοοι παρανηυσι σοοι μαχεοντο και α[  
 20 ως φ. το πατρο. . ος δε φιλω επεπιθετ' εταιρω  
 εκδαγαγε κλισι. εβρησ η δ ακ. λλι παρηον  
 δωκε ναγειν. ωδ αυτισι την παρανηυσιν[  
 . ]. . εκουσα ματοις γυνηκι εν αυταρα χιλ[. ]. .  
 δακρυσα σε τα ρωνα φαρεζε τον ος φιλιασθ. ις  
 25 . ] ενεφαλος πολης ο ρωνε πιοινο παποντον  
 . ]. λλα δε μητρι φιληρησατο χειρα σορε γνυς  
 . ] ητηρε πειμετε κας μιν υνθαδιον περεοντα  
 . . ] μην περ μοιο φελλε. ολυμπιος εγγυαλιξαι  
 . ] ευσυψιβρε μετης νυ. δουδε με τυθονε τις εν  
 30 . η γαρ ματρε ιδης ευρυ κρειων αγαμεμνων  
 η τιμης ενελων γαρε χει. ερας αυτο σαπουρας  
 ω. φατο δακρυχεων του δε κλυε ποτνια μητ. ρ  
 η μενη εν βενθεσιν αλος παρα πατρι γεροντι  
 καρπα λιμωσ δ ανεβη πολης αλος η τυτομι χλη  
 35 και ρα παροιθαυτοιο καθεζετο δακρυχεοντος  
 . ειριτε μιν κατερεξε νεποστε φατεκτονομαζε  
 . . ]. νοντικ λεισ τιδες εφρενας ικετο πενθος  
 . ]. αυδα μη κευθενω. ναιδομενα μφω  
 . ] ην δε βαρυστεναχων προσεφη ποδας ωκυσα χιλλευ.  
 40 . ] ις θατη τοι ταυτιδυ η πανταγορευω  
 . ]. μεθεσθη βηνι[. ]. νπολιν ηετιωνος  
 . ] ην δε διεπραθομεν τε και ηγομεν εν θαδεπ[. ]. α



.]ιταμενευδασοντομετασφισινυιεσαχαιω.  
 .]κδελονατρειδηχρυσηιδακαλλιπαρηον  
 45 .]ρυσηςδauθιερευσεκατηβολουαπολλωνος  
 ηλθεθοασεπινηασαχαιωνχαλκοχιτωνων  
 .]υσομενοστεθυγατραφερωνταπεριςιαποινα  
 . .].μματεχωνενχερςινεκατηβολουαπολλωνος  
 . . .]σεωανασκηπτρωκαιελισσετοπαντασαχαιους  
 50 . .]ρειδαδεμαλισταδυοκοσμητορελαων  
 .].θαλλοιμενπαντεςεπευφημησαναχαιοι  
 α.δεισθαιθιερηκαι.γλαδεχθαιαποινα  
 αλλουκατρειδηγαμεμον..νδανεθυμω  
 .λλακακωσαφιεικρατερο.δεπιμυθονετελλε[  
 55 χωομενοσογερωνπαλινωχετοτοιοδαπολλων  
 ευξαμενουηκουσενεπιοιμα\λα/πολυφιλτατοσεστι  
 .]κεδεπαργειοικακο.βελοσυδενυλαιοι  
 . .].σκονεπασκυτεροιταδεπωχετοκηλαθεοιο  
 . .].τηαναστρατονευρυναχαιωναμμιδ.μ. .τιν  
 60 . .]ειδωσαγορευεθεοπροπιασεκατοιο  
 .].τικεγωπρωτοσκελομηνθεονιλασκεσθα.  
 . .]. .ιωναδεπειταχ. .οσλαβεναιψαδανας . .ς  
 . . . .]λησενμυθονοδητετελεςμενονεστ[.]ν  
 . .]. .ενγαρσυννηιθοηελικωπεσαχαιοι  
 65 . .].ρυσηνπεμπουσιναγουσιδεδωραανα. . .  
 .].νδενεονκλισηθενεβανκηρυκεσαγοντ . .

ξδ<sup>1</sup>

1 ., high speck of ink. τ..., upper part of a round letter, followed by arc at mid-letter-height, and a tiny speck of ink. 2 .., edge of the foot of an upright, and traces from the curved bottom of ω. .[, part of high horizontal. 3 v., traces from two adjacent bottom

curves.  $\alpha$ ., high arc, well suiting the expected c. 4 o., bottom trace of ink, and speck of ink at mid-letter-height, visible on the bottom left and right hand side of the hole respectively. v., part of upright, cut by middle horizontal projecting leftwards. 6  $\lambda$ ., upright, cut by horizontal projecting leftwards. 7  $\tau$ ., top of a round letter. u., traces from oblique. 8  $\nu$ ., lower part of oblique descending rightwards, compatible with  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$ .  $\tau$ ., bottom of oblique descending rightwards followed by the right-hand side of a round letter. 9  $\epsilon$ ., foot of a vertical. 10  $\cdot c$ ., curved foot of a letter.  $\mu$ ., traces of ink visible on the hole-tear suggest a curved back letter. 11  $\beta$ ., long vertical. 12  $\iota$ ., left-hand side of a curved letter. 13  $\kappa$ ., speck of ink from the top of a letter. 14  $\cdot \rho$ ., upright and trace of ink on its left at top line-level. 17  $\cdot o$ ., part of high horizontal and curved foot, probably belonging to the same letter. 18 o., top of a narrow letter. 20  $\phi$ ., bottom trace, presumably the edge of an oblique descending rightwards, attached to the foot of  $\tau$ . o., upright followed by apex. 21  $\iota$ ., upright.  $\kappa$ ., oblique descending rightwards, accepting mostly  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ . 22 v., foot of vertical and traces from horizontal on the right of it. 23 ].., traces from the base of a letter, and bottom trace from the following letter. ].., traces from the bottom of probably two letters. 24  $\theta$ ., foot of a letter. 26 ].., top and bottom of a round letter. 28  $\epsilon$ ., top and foot of a vertical, followed by a parallel upright, well suiting the expected v. 29  $\nu$ ., bottom of vertical and traces of arc suggesting v. 30  $\cdot$ ., speck of ink in the left-hand side margin. 31  $\iota$ ., bottom half vertical. 32  $\omega$ ., apex.  $\tau$ ., horizontal at two thirds letter-height. 36  $\cdot$ ., trace from the top of a letter. 37 ].., the degree of sloping of the two obliques whose extensions would meet, suggests  $\kappa$  rather than  $\chi$ . 38 ].., part of the base, and trace from the top of a letter.  $\omega$ ., top of a narrow letter. 39  $\nu$ ., high horizontal and trace from the bottom. 41 ].., bottom of oblique descending leftwards violating bilinearity, followed by half upper curved. ].., bottom half and top of a long vertical, then foot and top trace of a shorter vertical. 42  $\pi$ ., top of a letter above the notional parallel. ].., part of high horizontal joined with the ensuing  $\alpha$ . 43 ]..,  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ .  $\omega$ ., part of low horizontal. 48 ].., part of horizontal at two thirds letter-height. 51 ].., vertical. 52  $\alpha$ ., foot of a narrow letter.  $\iota$ ., speck of ink on the bottom right of the hole. 53  $\nu$ ., bottom of upright, followed by top traces on parallel slightly sloping verticals. 54  $\cdot \lambda$ ., traces from the middle and bottom part of a letter. o., foot of a letter. 57 o., top of upright. 58  $\cdot c$ ., horizontal at mid-letter-height joined with vertical



suggests η or ει. 59 ], upright. δ., base and trace at mid letter-height. μ., top of oblique descending rightwards followed by high trace on a notional parallel to a vertical. 61 ], half bottom part of vertical. α., foot of a long vertical. 62 ], high traces followed by the foot of a vertical. χ., top of a round letter, then a curved letter. ς., small part of high horizontal, low speck of ink. 64 ], bases of two letters, compatible with the bellies of the expected ν and μ. 65 ], χ or κ. α..., foot, high horizontal and top of three letters respectively. 66 ], low trace of ink. τ., bottom trace of ink and extension of an horizontal at two thirds letter-height.

↓

	].υιεσ αχαιων [[αλλακυειδυνασαιγεπεριςχεοπαιδοσεηοσ
	]αιδοσ εηοσ
	]ποτεδηοι
	].καιε.γω
5	]. .οικιακουσα
	]γεφεικρονιωνι
	]ναμυνει
	]οιηθελοναλλοι
	]αθηνη
10	].οδεσμων
	].κρονολυμπον
	]δρεσδεπαντεσ
	].ροσαμεινων
	].κυδειγαιων
15	].θεοιουδετεδησαν
	]. .εοκαιλαβεγουνων
	]ρωεσσιναρηξαι
	]αιαμφαλαεξαια.αιουσ
	]παυρωνταιβασιληοσ
20	]. . . .ειωναγαμεμων

- ]γαχαιωνουδενετισεν  
 ]πει.[.]θεαθετιςα.γυροπ.ζα  
 ].μο.τινοισα. . τεκουςα  
 ].νηυσιαδακρυτοςκαιαπημων  
 25 ]οιαισαμινυνθα.ερουτιμαλαδην  
 ].ωκυμοροςκαιοιζυροςπεριπαντων  
 ].ωσεκακηαισηονενμεγαροις  
 ]δετοιερεουςαεποςδιτερπικευρανω  
 ]αυτηπροσολυμποναγαννιφοναικεπιθαι  
 30 ].ασυμεννυννηυσινπαρημενοςωκυποροις.  
 .]ην[.]αχαιοιςινπολεμουαποπαυεοπαμπαν  
 .]ευσγαρεςωκεανονμεταμυμογασαιθιοπης  
 .θιζοσεβημεταδεταθεοιδαμαπαντεςεπονται  
 .ωδεκατ..ετοιαυτισελευσεταιιουλυμπονδε  
 35 καιτοτε.ειτατοιδιοςποτιχαλκοβατεςδω  
 .αιμινγουνασομαικαιμινπιθεσθαιοϊω  
 .αραφωνησασαπεβησατοτονδελιπαυτου  
 χω[.]μενονκατα.υμονεϋζωνοιογυ[.] .κος  
 τηνραβιηαεκ.[.]το..πηυ.ωναυταροδυσσευς  
 40 ].χρυσηνικα. .να. .νιερηνεκατομβην  
 ]. .τεδηλιμενοςπολυνβενθεοσεντ. .ικοντο  
 ]μενστειλαντοθεσσανδενημελαινη  
 ].διοτοδοκηπελασανπροτονοιςινυφεντες  
 ].αλιμωσδγηνειςορμονπροερυσσανερετμοις  
 45 ]ευνασεβαλλονκαταδεπρυμνησιεδησαν  
 ]εκαιαυτοιβα.νογεπιριγμινιθαλασσης  
 ]. . α .ομβηνβησανεκηβολωαπολλωνι  
 ]σηιςνηοςβηποντοποροιο  
 ]. . [.]ενεπιτεπιβωμοναγωνπο. .μητισοδυσσευς

- 50 ]ιφι.ωενχερσιτιθεικαιμινπροσεειπεν  
 ]χρυσηπρομεπεμψεναναξανδρωνα[.]μεμνων  
 ]δα[.][.]οιαγεμεν.οιβωθιεργηνεκατομβην  
 ]. . .ερδαναων.φριλασσομεθαανακτα  
 ].υναρ.ειοικινπ[.].υστονκηδεεφηκεν
- 55 ].ειπωνενχερσιτιθειοδεδεξατοχαιρων  
 ]ιδαφιληνοιδωκαθεωκλειτηνεκατομβην  
 ].εισε.τηςανευ.μητονπεριβωμον  
 ]ερνιψαντοδεπει. .καιουλοχυτασανελοντο  
 ]ικινδεχρυσημε.αλευχετοχειρασαναρχων

ξδ

1 ], trace on the tear. 4], speck of ink at mid letter-height. ε., bottom of a long vertical. ], speck of ink from the lower part of a letter. The ensuing letter is o or the head of ρ. 10 ], baseline of a letter, accepting α, β, δ, ζ, ξ. 11 ], bottom half of α or o. 13 ], part of horizontal whose right edge joins with vertical, τ or π. 14 ], traces forming the curved right-hand side of a letter. 15 ], speck of ink at mid letter-height, could well belong to the projection of the middle stroke of θ. 16 ], speck of ink at mid letter-height; high speck of ink and baseline have only survived from the following letter. 18 α., speck of ink above the following letter. 20]...., speck of ink followed by bottom of long vertical, upright and foot of a long letter. 22 ε., short high horizontal. α., top of a letter. π., bottom and trace of ink on its top right. 23 ], curved bottom of a letter and short horizontal at mid letter-height on its right could well belong to the same letter. o., foot of an upright. α..., curved left-hand side of a letter followed by tiny scattered traces of ink. 24 ], remains of a round or curved letter. 25 α., π or γ. 26], foot of a long letter. 27], foot of a long letter. 30 ], speck of ink at mid letter-height. 33 ., high part of oblique ascending rightwards, compatible with υ and χ. 34 ., slightly curved right-hand side of α, δ or λ. τ., specks of ink from the top and the bottom of letters respectively. 35 ε., vertical. 36 .α, upper and lower obliques of κ or χ. 37 .c, wavy baseline strongly suggests ω. .υ, bottom left-hand side of a letter, accepting many



possibilities. ].., faint traces from the top of two letters. 39 κ., high trace of ink. .., low speck of ink, followed by high part of oblique of α, δ, λ. 40 ], curved top of a letter. α.., foot of vertical and low speck of ink very close to it, then bottom of a round letter. α.., speck of ink, and bottom of a round letter. 41 ].., traces from the top of two letters, the second being a round one. τ.., trace of ink at two thirds letter-height, followed by the bottom of a round letter. 43 ], two parallel verticals. 44 ], bottom half of a letter. 46 α., bottom of a long letter sloping leftwards. 47 ..α., short horizontal at mid letter-height, part of oblique over the following α. .ο., trace from the top of a letter. 49 ], two parallel verticals. ο.., faint traces from two letters, the second being an upright. 50 ι., arc at mid letter-height. 51 ], high almost horizontal, perhaps used as link-stroke. 52 ], apex of a round letter. ν., traces from an upright. 53 ]..., tails of three verticals. ν., right-hand side of a round letter. 54 ], vertical. ρ., vertical. ], low trace, probably edge of an oblique. 55 ], scattered specks of ink suggest a round letter. 57 ], part of high horizontal touching the top of ε. ε., traces from a round letter. υ., curved right-hand side suiting well α, δ, λ. 58 ι.., variously assigned traces of ink. 59 ε., trace of ink at mid letter-height.

→

ι μ

- 1.326 ω[ς] ειπων προει κρατερον δ επι μυθον ετελλ[εν]  
 τω δ αεκοντε βατην παρα θιν αλος ατρυγετ[οιο  
 μυρμιδωνων δ επι τε κλισιας και νηας ικεσθ[ην  
 τον δ ευρον παρα τε κλησιη και νηι μελαινη  
 330 ημενον ουδ αρα τω γε ιδων γηθησεν αχιλλε[υς  
 τω μεν ταρβησαντε και αιδομενω βασιλη[α  
 ρτητην ουδε τε μιν προσεφωνεον ουδ ερεο[ντο  
 αυταρ ο εγνω ησιν ενι φρεσι φωνησεν τε  
 χαιρετε κηρυκες διοσ αγγελοι ηδε και ανδρω[ν  
 335 αααα ιτ [ο]υ τι μ[ο]ι υμμεσ υπαιτιοι αλλ αγαμε[μνων

- ο cφωιν προiei βρ[ιcηι]δος ουνε[κ]α κουρης  
 αλλ αγε διογενες πατροκλειc εξαγε κουρην  
 και cφωιν dos αγειν τω δ αυτω μαρτυροι εcτω[ν  
 προς τε θεων μακαρων προς τε θνητων ανθ[ρωπων  
 340 και προς του βαcιληoc απηνεoc ει ποτε δ αυτε  
 χρειω εμειο γενηται αεικεα λοιγον αμυναι  
 τοic αλλοic η γαρ ο γ ολοιηci φρεci θυει  
 ουδε τι οide νοηcαι αμα προςcω και οπιcω  
 / οπωccο οι παρα νηuci cοοι μαχεοντο και α[χαιοι  
 345 ωc φατο πατροκλoc δε φιλω επεπιθετ' εταιρω  
 εκ δ αγαγε κλιcιηc βρηcηιδα καλλιπαρηον  
 δωκεν αγειν τω δ αυtic ιτην παρα νηucιν [αχαιων  
 η] δ αεκouc αμα τοic γυνη κien αυταρ αχιλ[λε]υc  
 δακρυcαc εταρων αφαρ εζετο νοcφι λιαcθειc  
 350 θ]ιν εφ αloc πολιηc οροων επι οinoπα ποντον  
 π]ολλα δε μητρι φιλη ηρηcατο χειραc ορεγνuc  
 μ]ητηρ επει μ ετεκαc μινυνθαδιον περ εοντα  
 τι]μην περ μοι οφελλεν ολυμπιοc εγγυαλιζαι  
 ζ]ευc υψιβρεμετηc νυν δ ουδε με τυθον εticεν  
 355 / η γαρ μ ατρειδηc ευρυ κρειων αγαμεμνων  
 ητιμηcεν ελων γαρ εχει γεραc αυτοc απουραc  
 ωc φατο δακρυ χεων του δ εκλυε ποτνια μητηρ  
 ημενην εν βενθεcιν αloc παρα πατρι γεροντι  
 καρπαλιμωc δ ανεβη πολιηc αloc ηντ ομιχλη  
 360 και ρα παροιθ αυτοιο καθεζετο δακρυ χεοντοc  
 χειρι τε μιν κατερεξεν εποc τ εφατ εκ τ ονομαζε  
 τε]κνον τι κλειc τι δε cε φρεναc ικετο πενθοc  
 ε]ξαυδα μη κευθε νοω ινα ιδομεν αμφω  
 τ]ην δε βαρυ cτεναχων προceφη ποδαc ωκυc αχιλλευc



- 365 ο]ιθα τη τοι ταυτ ιδυιη παντ αγορευω  
 ω]χομεθ ες θηβην ι[ε]ρην πολιν ηετιωνος  
 τ]ην δε διεπραθομεν τε και ηγομεν ενθαδε πα[ν]τα  
 κ]αι τα μεν ευ δασοντο μετα σφισιν υιες αχαιων  
 ε]κ δ ελον ατρειδη χρυσηδα καλλιπαρηον  
 370 χ]ρυσης δ αυθ ιερευσ εκατηβολου απολλωνος  
 ηλθε θοας επι νηας αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνων  
 λ]υσομενος τε θυγατρα φερων τ απερισι αποйна  
 στ]εμματ εχων εν χερσιν εκατηβολου απολλωνος  
 χρυ]σεω ανα σκηπτρω και ελίσσετο παντας αχαιους  
 375 ατ]ρειδα δε μαλιστα δυο κοσμητορε λαων  
 ε]νθ αλλοι μεν παντες επευφημησαν αχαιοι  
 αιδειςθαι θ ιερηα και α]γλα δεχθαι αποйна  
 αλλ ουκ ατρειδη αγαμεμνονι ηνδανε θυμω  
 α]λλα κακως αφiei κρατερον δ επι μυθον ετελλε[ν?  
 380 χωομενος ο γερων παλιν ωχετο τοιο δ απολλων  
 ευξαμενου ηκουσεν επι οι μα\λα/ πολυ φιλτατος εστι  
 η]κε δ επ αργειοι κακον βελος υ δε νυ λαοι  
 θν]ησκον επασκυτεροι τα δ επωχετο κηλα θεοιο  
 πα]ντη ανα στρατον ευρυν αχαιων αμμι δε μα]ντιν  
 385 ευ] ειδως αγορευε θεοπροπιας εκατοιο  
 α]ντικ εγω πρωτος κελομην θεον ιλασκεσθαι  
 ατ]ρειωνα δ επειτα χολος λαβεν αιψα δ αναστας  
 ηπει]λησεν μυθον ο δη τετελεσμενον εστ[ι]ν  
 τη]ν μεν γαρ συν νηι θοη ελικωπες αχαιοι  
 390 ες] χρυσην πεμπουσιν αγουσι δε δωρα ανακτι  
 τ]ην δε νεον κλεισηθεν εβαν κηρυκες αγωντες

↓

κουρην βρισηος την μοι δοσα]ν υιες αχαιων [[cont.

[[αλλα συ ει δυνασαι γε περιχαιο παιδος εηος]]

αλλα συ ει δυνασαι γε περιχαιο π]αιδος εηος

ελθους ουλυμπονδε δια λισαι ε]ι ποτε δη ο]ι

395 η επει ωνησας κραδιην διοσ η]ε και εργω

πολλακι γαρ σεο πατροσ ενι μεγ]αροις ακουσα

ευχομενης οτ εφησθα κελαι]γεφει κρονιωνι

οιη εν αθανατοιςιν αεικεα λοιγο]ν αμυνει

οπποτε μιν ξυνδησαι ολυμπι]οι ηθελον αλλοι

400 ηρη τ ηδε ποσειδαων και παλλας] αθηνη

αλλα συ τον γ ελθουσα θεα υπελυς]αο δεσμων

ωχ εκατογχειρον καλεσας ες μ]ακρον ολυμπον

ον βριαρεων καλεουσι θεοι αν]δρες δε παντες

αιγαιων ο γαρ αυτε βιην ου πα]τροσ αμεινων

405 οσ ρα παρα κρονιωνι καθεζετ]ο κυδει γαιων

τον και υπεδδεισαν μακαρε]ς θεοι ουδ ετ εδησαν

των νυν μιν μνησας παρ]εξεο και λαβε γουνων

αι κεν πως εθελησιν επι τ]ρωεσσιν αρηξαι

τους δε κατα πρυμνας τε κ]αι αμφ αλα εξαι αχαιους

410 κτεινομενους ινα παντες ε]παυρωνται βασιλhos

γνω δε και ατρειδης ευ]ρυ κρειων αγαμεμνων

ην ατην ο τ αριστο]ν αχαιων ουδεν ετισεν

τον δ ημειβετ ε]πειτ[α] θεα θετις αργυροπεξα

ω μοι τεκνον] εμογ τι νοι σ αινα τεκουσα

415 αιθ οφελες παρ]α νησι αδακρυτος και απημων

ησθαι επει νυ τ]οι αινα μινυνθα περ ου τι μαλα δην

νυν δ αμα ]τ ωκυμορος και οϊζυρος περι παντων

- επλεο] τω σε κακη αιση ον εν μεγαροιαι  
 τουτο] δε τοι ερεουσα επος διι τερπικευρανω  
 420 ειμ] αυτη προς ολυμπον αγαννιφον αι κε πιθηαι  
 αλ]λα συ μεν νυν νηυσιν παρημενος ωκυποροισιν  
 μ]ην[ι] αχαιοισιν πολεμου αποπαυεο παμπαν  
 ζ]ευς γαρ ες ωκεανον μετ αμυμονας αιθιοπης  
 χθιζος εβη μετα δετα θεοι δ αμα παντες επονται  
 425 δωδεκατη δε τοι αυτις ελευσεται ουλυμπονδε  
 και τοτ επειτα τοι διος ποτι χαλκοβατες δω  
 και μιν γουνασομαι και μιν πιθεσθαι οϊω  
 ως αρα φωνησας απεβησατο τον δ ελιπ αυτου  
 χω[ο]μενον κατα θυμον ευζωνοιο γυ[ν]α ικος  
 430 την ρα βιη αεκο[ν]τοσ απηυρων αυταρ οδυσσευς  
 ε]ς χρυσην ικανεν α γων ιερην εκατομβην  
 οι] δ οτε δη λιμενος πολυνβενθεος εντοσ ικοντο  
 ιστια] μεν στειλαντο θεσσαν δε νηι μελαινη  
 ιστο]ν δ ιστοδοκη πελασαν προτονοισιν υφεγτες  
 435 καρ]παλιμως δ γην εις ορμον προερυσσαν ερετμοις  
 εκ δ] ευνας εβαλλον κατα δε πρυμνησι εδησαν  
 εκ δ]ε και αυτοι βαινον επι ριγμινι θαλασσης  
 εκ δ] εκατομβην βησαν εκηβολω απολλωνι  
 εκ δε χρυ]σηις νηος βη ποντοποροιο  
 440 τ]ην [μ]εν επιτ επι βωμον αγων πολυμητις οδυσσευς  
 πατρ]ι φιλω εν χειρσι τιθει και μιν προσεειπεν  
 ω] χρυση προ μ επεμψεν αναξ ανδρων α[γ]αμεμνων  
 παι]δα [τ]ε [ς]οι αγεμεν φοιβω θ ιερην εκατομβην  
 ρεξα]ι υπερ δαναων οφρ ιλασσομεθα ανακτα  
 445 ος] γυν αργειοισιν π[ο]λυστον κηδε εφηκεν



ω]ς ειπων εν χειρι τιθει ο δε δεξατο χαιρων  
 πα]ιδα φιλην οι δ ωκα θεω κλειτην εκατομβην  
 ε]ξειης εςτησαν ευδητον περι βωμον  
 χ]ερνιψαντο δ επειτα και ουλοχυτας ανελοντο  
 450 το]ιςιν δε χρυσει μεγαλ ευχετο χειρας ανασχων

ξδ

→

327 αεκοντε: ita Π codd. plurimi: ἄκοντε γ: ἔκοντε γ.

βατην: η apparently corrected from α.

328 δ' om. P.Stras.31+32.

ικεσθ[: ἰκέσθην (εἰκεσθην P.Stras.31+32) Π codd. plurimi: ικεσθαι P.Oxy.III 538<sup>a</sup>.

329 ευρον: ita Π Ζ Ω Allen van Thiel: ηῦρον Fick West. On the restoration of the augment in West's edition after Fick, where required, see Praef.III.8, p.xxvii.

κλης ιη: ι.κλις ίη. A common phonetic mistake, see Gignac I, pp.237-9. The scribe, however, spelt the same word correctly one line above (l.328).

331 και: κ appears with a blob of ink in its centre, either due to watery ink or written on top of a letter.

αιδομενω: δ corrected possibly from ο.

βασιλη[ : βασιληα Π codd. plurimi: βασιληι P.Bodl.58.

332 ουδε τε μιν (deprec. Did): οὐδέ τί μιν (vel οὐδέ τι μιν vel οὐδ' ἔτι μιν) Cypr.

Did Π τ Ζ Ω, cf. *Il.* 1.511, 4.401, al.: van der Valk (1964, p.126) notices an inclination of

Aristarchus and the other Alexandrians to limit the use of Homeric τε. He further deduces that in this line the original text may have offered ουδε τε which was altered by Aristarchus and the ‘Cyprian’ edition, but presumably survived in the exemplar of our piece. Alternatively, the reading of our piece could be simply an error due to the proximity of the preceding ε, or even a phonetic mistake. Οὐδέ τέ μιν occurs at the same line position in *Il.* 17.751.

333 ο: ð (vel ó) Π codd. plurimi: ὅ γ’ (Heyne) r<sup>c</sup>: ||| T.

335 υπαιτιοι: ἐπαίτιοι Π codd. plurimi. A ‘modernisation’ of a Homeric word, originating perhaps as intrusive annotation from the copyist’s exemplar.

336 ο: ita (ð) Zen(?) Ar Hdn P.Fay.141 P.Mich.2810 Z A b F<sup>c</sup> T edd.: ðc P.Stras.31+32 tt<sup>\*</sup> B<sup>c</sup> Ω<sup>\*</sup>, cf. *Il.* 1.73.

cfωιν: ita Zen P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 ApD<sup>Synt.</sup> A<sup>s</sup>: cfωι Ar ApD<sup>Pron.</sup> Z Ω<sup>\*</sup> edd.: cfωε rr. The scriptio with ν was not favoured by Aristarchus who marked the line with διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη: ἡ διπλῇ δέ, ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει cὺν τῷ ν ‘ὁ cfωιν’. Τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνει ὑμῶν ἢ ὑμῖν, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀρμόζει τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑμᾶς sch; cf. also Chantraine, 1958, p.266.

προiei: ita Π tt Ω: προίη Z.

ouνε[κ]α: εἵνεκα Π codd. plurimi. οὔνεκα is not employed as a preposition with genitive in Homer. Thus, it has been suggested that the ionic εἵνεκα should be restored for οὔνεκα, whenever it occurs as a preposition, see LSJ s.v. οὔνεκα II.

337 πατροκλειc: ita Π (Πάτροκλειc Z) Ω West van Thiel: Πατρόκλεεc r Allen. Both forms are metrically acceptable in this line. West prints with consistency Πατρόκλειc, see Praef.III 4, p.xxv.

338 μαρτυροι: ita Π codd. plurimi: μάρτυρε π: μάρτυρες π: μάρτυρ' π. The papyrus offers the majority reading, that is the epic form for μάρτυρες without preserving the dual form, already established in l.321. Other lapses from dual in this episode down to l.347 in ll.329, 332, 334.

340 βασιληος απηνεος: ita Did Arn Nic Π Z Ω: βασιλῆος ἀναιδέος Πολύστιχος teste Sel: ἀπηνοῦς γ: βασιλέως τοῦ ἀπηνέος π.

δ' αυτε: ita P.Oxy.III 538 P.Stras.31+32 P.Stras.83 Z Ω Allen van Thiel: δὴ αὖτε (Thiersch) P.Mich.2810, fort. Zen (sch<sup>T</sup> ad 2.225) West. The papyrus preserves the majority inferior reading.

341 εμειο: ita Π codd. plurimi: ἐμοῖο π.

αμυναι: ita Π Z Ω<sup>\*</sup>: ἀμύνειν C.

342 γαρ: ita Π t Ω: γὰρ ᾗν Z: γὰρ ῥ' Bentley. For Bentley's reading, cf. West, Praef.III.10, p.xxx.

ολοιησι: ita ολοιη(ι)σι(ν) Π Z A (cum sch) T G π edd.: ὀλοῆσι Porph. Ω<sup>\*</sup>. The majority reading omits ι to the detriment of the metre.

θυει: ita Π tt Z Ω Allen van Thiel: θύει Fick West. For this last reading which is attested in the best codices in ll.11.188, 16.699, 21.234 and 324, 22.272, and 23.230, see West, Praef.III.10, p.xxxi.

343 οπιω: l.οπιω. The latter is the expected epic form which renders, as required, long the short ι. The second c may have actually been present in the copyist's exemplar, as the reading οπωcco suggests (see below).



344 ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ κοοὶ: ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ κοοὶ Π codd. A scribal blunder apparently due to the influence of the preceding οπις<c>ω or/and the following κοοὶ.

μαχεοντο: ita P.Stras.83<sup>a</sup> r: μαχέονται P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 P.Stras.83<sup>c</sup>, fort. P.Mich.4457a, P.Oxy.ined.1 Z, cf. *Il.*2.366: μαχέοιντο sch<sup>bT</sup> t Ω Allen van Thiel: μαχεοίατ' Bentley West: μαχέωνται r: μένουσι Schwartz. The imperfect form μαχέοντο of our piece, which recurs as variant in 1.272 in P.Stras.31+32 and in some late manuscripts but nowhere else in Homer, is a *lectio deterior*. Leaf, 1900, p.29, adduces four objections against the optative form, but finally prints it. Van der Valk, 1964, pp.567-8, prefers the optative μαχέοιντο to express Achilles' modest behaviour at this point rather than the future μαχέονται. Finally, West prints the optative with the normal form of the middle third person thematic verbs (μαχεοίατ'), see Monro, <sup>2</sup>1891, p.72.

καὶ ante Ἀχαιοί: the reading of the papyrus *contra sensum and metrum*. With καὶ Ἀχαιοί end three verses in *Iliad*: 2.684, 16.564, 18.263.

345 ἐπεπιθετ': ἐπεπείθεθ' Π codd.: ἐπεπείθετ' P.Mich.2810. A formulaic verse, cf. also *Il.*9.205 and 11.616. For the common interchange of ει and ι, and the loss of initial aspiration, cf. Gignac I, pp.189-190 and 134 respectively. The horizontal of τ extended rightwards and then curved leftwards functions as apostrophe to mark elision, although this is unparalleled in this piece.

εταίρω: ita (ἐταίρῳ) P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 P.Stras.83<sup>c</sup> P.Oxy.ined.1 Ω: μύθῳ P.Stras. 83<sup>a</sup>. A form of the verb πείθομαι followed by μύθῳ ends a Homeric verse four times (and two more with τε in between).

346 Βρηκηίδα: l. Βριχηίδα. A common iotacistic mistake (cf. Gignac I, pp.237-8), or influence by the following η.

αγαγε: ita Π plerique codd.: αγεγε P.Mich.4457a. I think that the latter reading derived from dittography of a syllable rather than a phonetic mistake (see Gignac I, p.279).

347 δωκεν: δῶκε δ' Π codd. An inferior variant, since the connective particle is missing, perhaps due to an attempt to avoid two δέ in the same line, and there is no justification for asyndeton here. For the so called 'connective- continuative' function of the particle, see Denniston, <sup>2</sup>1950, pp.162-3.

αυτις: ita Π codd. plurimi: αὔθις rr. The papyrus preserves the Homeric form.

νηυειν: ita P.Stras.83<sup>a</sup> P.Oxy.ined.1: νῆαc P.Ambros.1019 P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 P.Stras.83<sup>c</sup> P.Oxy.ined.3 Ω. The papyrus offers a wrong reading, since ἵτην requires accusative. This mistake probably prompted from l.1.344.

348 τοις: τοῖσι Π codd. The reading of the papyrus presents a metrical flaw, as the υ of γυνή is short.

350 θην: ita tt\* Z Ω (cf. *Il.*13.682, 14.31): θινι P.Mich.2810 P.Soc.Pap.230 P.Oxy.ined.2, *contra metrum*.

οινοπα: (nov. Did) ita Π tt Z Ω West van Thiel: ἀπείρονα Ar Allen. Aristarchus' reading perhaps on the ground that οἶνοπα is inconsistent with πολιῆc (see Leaf, <sup>2</sup>1900, p.29). Not unexpectedly, our piece does not substantiate Aristarchus' correction. Πόντον is always οἶνοπα (four times in *Iliad* and six in *Odyssey*) with the exception of *Od.*4.510: κατὰ πόντον ἀπείρονα κυμαίνοντα. Ἀπείρονα is confined to γαῖαν (twice in *Iliad* and six times in *Odyssey*).

351 ορεγνυς: Ar Π tt Z Ω edd.: ἀναπτάc Zen: ἀνασχών quidam ap. sch<sup>T</sup>: ἐκτείνων r. Van der Valk, 1964, pp.46-47 argues against the reading of Zenodotus. The formula χεῖραc ἀνασχών occurs five times in *Iliad* and once in *Odyssey* always with an Olympian as a recipient of the invocation. Raising up one's arms in prayer to a god on Olympus is reasonable enough, but not doing the same in invoking a goddess beneath the

sea. Therefore, in *Il.*22.37 χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς occurs when Priam implores Hector in the plain below. However, in *Il.*15.371 and *Od.*9.527 χεῖρ' ὀρέγων is employed for a prayer to an Olympian, while in *Od.*13.355 and 17.239 ἀναχών is used for a prayer to the Nymphs. Kirk, 1985, ad loc., concludes this discussion on the two main variants of this line by asserting that both could have been written by Homer, since 'there was probably no complete consistency of practice in such matters even in Homer's time'.

352 μ]ητηρ: l. μῆτερ. The reading of the papyrus mars both grammar and metre.

ετεκας: l. ἔτεκες.

γε om.: ita P.Stras.31+32. The omission of γε creates metrical difficulties, since the first ι of μινυνθάδιον is considered short.

353 περ: ita Π codd. plurimi: μέν π, probably to avoid a second περ so close.

354 τυθον: l. τυτθόν

ετιεν: ita Z Ω: ετειεν Π. Our piece is among the few edited papyri, which reads the classical aorist form of the verb τίω, which in papyri normally gets confused with the aorist of τίνω and is written with -ει. In medieval manuscripts, on the contrary, aorists of both verbs are written with -ι, see LSJ s.vv. τίω and τίνω, and West, Praef.III.10, pp.xxxv-xxxvi.

355 ευρυ κρειων (vel ευρυκρειων): after κ space of two letters is left. Presumably, the scribe avoided writing across the crease, where the papyrus was fragile.

356 ελων: ita Π codd. plurimi: λαβών Z. The latter presumably an intrusive gloss.

357 εκλυε: ita Π plurimi codd.: εκλευε P.Köln 2281. The latter is a corrupt and unmetrical reading.

358 (= *Il.*18.36) om. F.



ημενην: l. ἡμένη. The marking of ν, treated as movable -ν, is invalid here, for it mars both syntax and metre.

βενθεειν: *contra metrum*: βενθεει 2: βένθεειιν Π codd.

359 ανεβη: ἀνέδυσ Π (ανεδυν P.Stras.31+32) codd.: Ανεβη is probably here an intrusive gloss, although the verb is well attested in Homer. Cf. Eust. ad *Il.*1.359: ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν Θέτιν ἀναβαίνουσαν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀναδύναι καθὰ ὁμίχλη, and *Il.*1.497 where ἀνέβη is properly employed to describe Thetis' ascent to Olympos.

360 παροιθ: ita P.Fay.141 P.Stras.31+32 P.Soc.Pap.Alex.230 Z Ω: παροιθεν P.Stras.33 sch<sup>D</sup>: προπαροιθε P.Köln 2281: παροιθε 2. The minority readings come from glossaries and scholia minora, which in general tend to offer the full form of the lemma, and not always a reliable text.

γουνων P.Stras.33. This lemma implies a variant verse: καὶ ῥα πάροιθ αὐτοῖο καθέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων. The second half of 1.360 has been replaced by the second half of 1.500. Both verses begin with the same formula and refer to Thetis. However, as Henrichs makes clear (1971a, p.147) the new verse cannot be considered a formal variant, since in this context it yields no sense.

361 τε: ita Π codd.plurimi: δὲ rr. Τε is frequently found as a variant for δέ (and vice-versa) in the manuscripts. Here perhaps replaced in some codd. to avoid three τε in the same Homeric line.

εκ τ ονομαζε: ita Π plurimi codd.: επονομαζε P.Stras.31+32. A formulaic half-verse, recurring forty-two more times in Homer. The corruption in the minority reading may have occurred due to a graphic mistake.

362 κλειει: l. κλαίει.

363 ἰδομεν: εἶδομεν Hdn Π tt Z (-ωμεν) Ω: parox. Pamph.: εειδομεν P.Stras.31+32. In the papyrus a iotacistic mistake may have been encouraged by confusion between the subjunctives of οἶδα and ὁράω. Cf. also *Il.* 1.365.

364 βαρυ στεναχων (vel βαρυστεναχων): ita Π codd. plurimi (cf. also *Il.* 18.78 and 16.20): στονάχων π. The minority reading seems an erudite Byzantine emendation.

365 τη: the reading of η is not certain. It looks well as τι (dittography); in that case the scribe may have been confused by both the preceding and the following words.

ταυτ ιδυη: ταῦτα ἰδυίη P.Yale I 4 (ιδυειη) π. edd.: ταῦτ' εἰδυίη P.Ambros.1019 P.Stras.31+32 t Z Ω: ταυτοῖ P.Soc.Pap.Alex.230. The non-elision of the minority reading for metrical purposes. For the Homeric forms of the participle of οἶδα, see Chantraine, 1958, p.421.

αγορευω: ita Π t Z Ω<sup>\*</sup>: ἀγορεύω b T. ἀγορεύω occurs fourteen times at the end of a Homeric verse (twice in *Iliad* and twelve in *Odyssey*).

366-392: ath. Ar: ὅσοι δὲ ἀθετοῦσι τοὺς στίχους οὐκ ἐῷσιν ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν ὅθεν ἤλω χρυσήϊσ sch. Additionally, 372-5 (= 13-16) and 376-9 (= 22-5) are asterisked as being exact repetitions of the earlier descriptions. For arguments against a mechanical summary of what preceded, which would deserve athetesis, cf. Kirk, 1985, ad loc., while for arguments supporting the rejection, see Bolling, 1944, pp.59-61. However, the surviving margin in front of ll.378-381 does not seem to preserve any siglum, suggestive of athetesis.

366 θηβην: ita P.Ambros.1019 P.Stras.31+32 P.Oxy.ined.4 tt<sup>\*</sup> Z Ω: βηθην P.Hamb.III 194: Θήβας Arn.

367 διεπραθομεν: ita P.Ambros.1019 P.Stras.31+32 P.Soc.Pap.Alex. 230 tt Z Ω edd.: διαπραθομεν P.Mich.2810 P.Hamb.III 194.

τε: ita P.Ambros.1019 tt Ω: γε P.Stras.31+32. Γε is frequently found as *varia lectio* for τε (and vice-versa) in the manuscripts, since τ and γ can be easily confused in the majuscule.

368 κ]αι: κ possibly written on top of a letter, likely α.

δασοντο: l. δάσσαντο. The reading offered in our piece is ungrammatical.

370 αυθ: ita Π Ω<sup>\*</sup>: αὐ A R rr.

372 θυγατρα: θ seems corrected from ε.

απερις: l. ἀπερείς: απερης P.Flor.II 106. Banal iotacistic mistakes. For the interchange of ι / ει, and η / ει, see Gignac I, pp.189-190 and 240-1 respectively.

373 εκατηβολου: ἐκηβόλου Π codd. Both are common epithets for Apollo, but in this line metre requires the second. Possibly the mistake is due to the influence of l.370.

απολλωνος: the second o resembles ε or θ.

374 ελιςσετο: ita Π T<sup>s</sup> Ω<sup>\*</sup> (ἐλλή-Y) van Thiel, cf. *Il.* 1.15: λίσσετο Ar A B E T West Allen. The minority reading to avoid hiatus: οὕτως ἰακῶς τὸ λίσσετο sch<sup>abT</sup>.

375 (= *Il.* 1.16) om. P.Stras.31+32.

ατ]ρειδα: ita Π codd. plurimi: ατρειδα[[c]] P.Mich.2810: ἀτρείδη rr.

δε: ita P.Mich 2810 Ω: τε P.Soc.Pap.Alex.230 P.Oxy.ined.1?.

μαλιςτα δυο: μάλιςτα δύω Π codd. plurimi: δύω μάλιςτα r. The reading of our piece is unmetrical, prompted by the phonetic identification of ο and ω in the Roman and



Byzantine period (see Gignac I, pp. 275-77).  $\delta\upsilon\omega$  occurs frequently in the papyri without distinction in usage from  $\delta\iota\omega$  (for examples, see Gignac II, pp. 186-7).

376  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$ : ita  $\Pi$  codd. edd.:  $\epsilon\pi\eta\upsilon\phi\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$  Fick.

377  $\alpha\gamma\lambda\alpha$ : l.  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\alpha}$ . Carelessly the scribe omitted the second  $\alpha$ , perhaps by thinking that  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\nu\alpha$  would immediately follow, cf. *Il.* 1.111.

$\delta\epsilon\chi\theta\alpha\iota$ :  $\theta$  perhaps transformed from  $\epsilon$ .

379-381: written in order 380, 374 (subsequently cancelled) 379, 381 in P. Stras. 31+32.

380  $\delta'$  post  $\chi\omega\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  om. 1, *contra metrum*.

381  $\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ :  $\upsilon$  is corrected from another letter, probably  $\phi$ .

$\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\omicron\iota$   $\mu\alpha\backslash\lambda\alpha$  /  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$   $\phi\iota\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota$ :  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\omicron\iota$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\hat{\eta}\epsilon\nu$   $\Pi$  codd. A common iotacistic mistake (or confusion with the preposition  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  ?), occurring also in P. Stras. 31+32, transposition of the pronoun  $\omicron\iota$  and probably intrusive marginal glosses, along with the carelessness of the copyist explain the corruption in this line.

$\mu\alpha\backslash\lambda\alpha$ /: Did  $\Pi$   $\Sigma$   $\Omega$ :  $\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\nu\acute{\omicron}$  Theagenes Cypria Cretensis teste Sel.

$\phi\iota\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\tau$  is written on the top of a second  $\lambda$ . The scribe wrote the one-word superlative, that is  $\phi\iota\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , a gloss for  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , without omitting  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  and  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$  (a gloss for  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ ) from the main text.

$\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota$  should also be part of the annotation which entered the main text.

382  $\epsilon\pi$   $\text{Αργεῖοι}$ : l.  $\epsilon\pi'$   $\text{Ἀργεῖοις}$ .

$\upsilon$ : l.  $\omicron\iota$  (or  $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ ). For the interchange of  $\upsilon$  and  $\omicron\iota$ , see Gignac I, p. 197.

383 επαυτεροι: the scribe may have started writing a round letter which he altered to τ.

τα δ: ita (τὰ δ' vel τάδ') Π sch-Pind.*Pyth.*I 21a Ω: τάχ' ApS.

384 στρατον: ο perhaps corrected from α.

αμμι: the scribe may have started writing another letter, perhaps ι, which he altered to the first μ.

μαγτιν: l. μάντις.

385 εκατοιο ita Π plerique codd.: εκατηβελεταο P.Köln 2281. The 'wild' minority reading occurs in *Il.* 1.75.

388 μυθον: ita Π codd.: ελθ[ον P.Stras.31+32<sup>a</sup>.

τετελεσμενον: l. τετελεσμενος; the mistake presumably because of μυθ-ον or of ο (δη), the so-called in epic poetry postpositive article = relative pronoun, which could have been considered neutral by the scribe.

↓

392 [[αλλα cv: the scribe continued with the following hexameter without changing line, but then he realised the mistake and erased it.

393 Space indecisive: cv P.Stras.31+32 P.Oxy.ined.8 Ω<sup>\*</sup>: cv γ' P.Oxy.ined.5: cú γε h.

εηoc: ita Ar Π tt<sup>\*</sup> Z Ω<sup>\*</sup>: εοîo Zen Eudoc. F O: έηo Y. On these possessive pronouns, see Leaf, <sup>2</sup>1900, Appendix A pp.562-3, and Janko, 1992, on 15.138.

394 Space indecisive: λícαι Π codd.plurimi: λícçαι P.Köln 2281 π (unmetrical): λιccει P.Stras.31+32 (wrong and unmetrical).

δη οἱ; δη τι Π codd. This reading may have occurred due a confusion between δη τι and δη τοι, which often occurs in Homer (about 22 times). Alternatively, it could be dative of the personal pronoun οἱ (= Διί?), which in the context of these lines would make an inferior reading; for ὀνίνημι with dative, cf. Hes.*Th.*436, but *Il.*1.503 (with accusative).

395 η]ε και: ita Π Ζ Ω: ἦέ τι Bentley (cf. *Od.*3.99, 4.163, 329).

396-406 ath. Zen. Explanation of the athetesis in Kirk, 1985, ad loc., who concludes that in all probability the digression is Homeric. The opposite view is favoured by Bolling, 1944, p.61. The loss of the left-hand side margin keeps us in the dark regarding the marking of any marginal sigla concerning this athetesis.

396 μεγ]αροικι: -ειν Π codd. to avoid hiatus: μμεγ- P.Stras.31+32 P.Oxy.ined.7 Ζ Γ, on the double initial consonants see West, Praef.III.6, p.xxvi: μεγαλ[οι]c P.Köln 2281, unless this word is in fact part of the gloss on μεγαροικιν, fallen out of the text.

398 αμυνει: ἀμῶναι Π codd., cf. *Il.*1.341. The reading of the papyrus is syntactically wrong.

400 ante 399 transp. quidam ap.sch<sup>bT</sup> (Porph.), item Ζ: del.Wack.*Unt.*232 sq.. The transposition in some codices is a sign of interpolation in Bollings' opinion (1925, p.62), for it could have been brought into the text from the margin.

παλλας] αθηνη: ita Ar P.Stras.31+32 P.Oxy.ined.8; 9 tt<sup>\*</sup> Ζ Ω edd.: φοῖβος ἀπόλλων Zen. sch-Hom sch-Pind. *Ol.*vii.41 P.Flor.II 106, cf. P.Oxy.III 418 ad *Il.*399, sch<sup>T</sup> ad 21.444, utrumque nov. Philod.*De piet.* p.41. sch<sup>D</sup> preserve that Zeus was attacked by Poseidon, Hera, Athena and Apollon. According to van der Valk, 1963, pp.243-4, the original reading of sch<sup>D</sup> should have followed Zenodotus' tradition, into which the name of Athena was interpolated. The same scholar, 1964, pp. 237-8, argues for the established reading against that of Zenodotos.



403 βριάρεων Z Ω, cf. Hes.*Th.*817: βριάρεω P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810<sup>a</sup>  
P.Oxy.ined.10: βριάριων r: βριάρεον r.

τε om. 1, unmetrical.

404 βίην Ar P.Stras.31+32 Z West Allen, cf. *Il.*6.478, Sol.37.4: βίη Zen P.Mich.2810 tt  
Ω van Thiel, cf. *Il.*11.787. Space indecisive.

404-405: ὁ γὰρ αὖτε βίη πολὺ φέρτατος (-τερος Eust.) ἀπάντων ὅπ(π)όχοι ναίουσ'  
ὑπὸ τάρταρον εὐρώεντα Zen: a variant line attributed to Zenodotus probably in his  
attempt to tackle the problem of Briareos' father, see Kirk, 1985, ad loc. However,  
expectedly enough Zenodotus' solution is not defended by any testimony, including our  
piece.

406 Due to the irregularity of the hand, space is indecisive: ὑπέδδεισαν P.Fay.5  
P.Stras.31+32 (-δδι-) P.Oxy.ined.10 t Z Ω West van Thiel: ὑπέδεισαν (Ar) P.Mich.2810  
rr. Allen: ἀπέδδεισαν r.

407 μιν μνήσαα: ita fort. P.Fay.5 (]ν μνησαα) codd. plurimi: μιμνησαα  
P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 PLG 35 rr: μν]ησιαα BKT 5.1.5. For the omission of ν in  
the main minority reading, see Gignac, I, p.112.

408 αρηξ αι: ita P.Fay.5 P.Mich.2810 P.Oxy.ined.9;11 t Z Ω: μ α χ ε [c]θ α [ι  
P.Stras.31+32 The minority reading, *contra sensum* for this line; ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχέσθαι  
occurs twice at the end of the verse in *Iliad* (5.124 and 11.442) and five times more at  
the same position without ἐπί.

409 εεσαι: ἔλσαι (or ἔλσαι) Π-codd.plurimi: εαα P.Palau.Rib.147: ελασαι P.Köln  
2281<sup>a</sup>: ελεαι P.Köln 2281<sup>c</sup>. All minority readings are wrong, owing to the 'difficulty' of  
the word which has suffered a lot in some ancient manuscripts.

410 βασιληος: ita Π plurimi codd.: βασιληας P.Mich.2810.

412 ετι cen: ita (vel ἔτι ce) BKT 5.1.3 tt Z Ω: ἔτει ce(v) P.Fay.5 P.Mich.2810  
P.Oxy.ined.9: ετι c[[ε]]αν P.Oxy.ined.11, see n. ad 354.

413 ε]πειτ[α] θεα θετις αργυροπεζα : ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα Π codd.  
The formula θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα is attested seven more times in the *Iliad* at the end of the verse (9.410, 18.127.146.381, 19.28, 24.89.120), while two more times Θέτις not preceded by θεὰ is followed by ἀργυρόπεζα (*Il.* 16.222 and 18.369). Also in *Hymn.Ap.* 319.

414 νοι: l. νυ. For the frequent interchange of οι and υ, see Gignac I, pp.198-9.

ετρεφον P.Fay.5 t Ω: ετραφον P.Mich.2810. cf. ad *Il.* 5.70, 6.282, 23.90: om.1.

τεκουσα: ita Nic P.Fay.5 BKT 5.1.3 P.Oxy.ined.11;12 Z Ω: παθοῦσα (~*Il.* 22.431) t.

415 νηυι: νηυειν Π codd. to avoid hiatus.

αδακρυτος: ita Π codd.: αδακρυχεουσα P.Fay. 5<sup>a</sup>.

418 επλεο as regards spacing: ita Π plurimi codd.: ε]πλετο PLG 35.

ον: l. τέκον

420 πιθαι: l. πιθηται. αἶ κε πίθαι at the end of the line occurs three times in *Iliad* and once in *Odyssey*, but here the second person of the verb is wrong.

421 νυν: νῦν Hdn Ω: νὸν Tyr: cὺν T.

422 μ]ην[ι] αχαιοιςιγ: ita Π plurimi codd. μ]ηνιν αχαιοιςι PLG 35: μηνι[ν] P.Stras.31+32. The minority reading is revealing of how in some cases ‘new’ variants have been developed.

δ’ post πολέμου Π codd. (to avoid hiatus): om.1.

423-424 The part of lines from ωκεανον till εβη seems to be erased. However, I cannot see the reason for the deletion, if it was intended and not accidental.

423 ες: ita P.Stras.31+32 P.Mich.2810 sch<sup>bT</sup> tt Z Ω: ες om. PLG 35: ἐπ’ C rr.

αμυμονας: ita Ar Π (Jac BKT 5.1.3) tt Z Ω: μέμνονας (A) vel Μέμνονος (T Eust.) quidam ap.sch<sup>AT</sup>: μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους (= 1.222) quidam ap.sch.

424 ath. sch.

χθιζος: ita Π sch<sup>bT</sup> tt<sup>\*</sup> Z Ω: χθιζόν Macr.i.23.I.

δετα: l. δαῖτα. For the interchange of ε and αι, see Gignac I, p.192.

μετα: (nov.Did) ita P.Stras.31+32 PLG 35 tt<sup>\*</sup> Ω van Thiel, cf.19.346: κατὰ Antim Arph Ar (ἐπὶ Ar sch<sup>bT</sup>) Callistr DSid Ixio Massal. Sinop. Cypr. P.Fay.5? ApS sch-Ar. ad *Aves* 1178 Z V rr West Allen. For possible reasons that may have induced Aristarchus to alter the text, see van der Valk, 1964, pp.130-1, and Kirk, 1985, ad loc.: Aristarchus may have altered the text at this point influenced by the aforementioned testimony which offer κατὰ, and also by the Attic grammar, in which μετὰ + Accusative does not have the meaning ‘proceed to a goal or purpose’, as it does in Homer.

επονται: ita Ar BKT 5.1.3 P.Oxy.ined.11 P.Oxy.XLV 3238 Procl. Z Y: εποντο (nov.Did) P.Fay.5 P.Oxy.ined.13;14 tt<sup>\*</sup> Ω edd.: ἀνέεταν r, cf. *Il.*1.533. Kirk (1985, ad loc.) and Leaf (<sup>2</sup>1900, ad loc.) agree that the aristarchean reading was offered, in order



to get over ‘the contradiction’ of the line, implied by the presence of the gods in the camp; thus, they are following him (ἔπονται). However, these two scholars note that ἔπεσθαι never means ‘to follow at intervals’, but ‘to accompany’, and that ἅμα probably stresses this meaning.

425 αὐτίκ: ita Π codd.: αἶθις P.Stras.31+32<sup>a</sup> rr, cf. n. ad 347.

426 εἶμι om. 1.

427 πιθεσθαι: πείεσθαι Π codd. The reading of our piece is unmetrical. πείεσθαι οἶω recurs at the end of the verse in *Il.* 1.289 and 298 along with πείθεσθαι as sole but deterior variant.

428 ὥς ἀρα φωνήας: ita Π Ζ Ω: ἥ μὲν ἄρ ὥς εἰποῦς rr.

ἀπεβήατο: ita tt Ζ Ω<sup>\*</sup>: ἀπεβήετο P.Fay.5 P.Mich.2810 A b T rr edd., cf. vv.ll. et sch ad *Il.* 2.35, 3.262.

429 κατά om. P.Mich. 2810.

430 βῆ: ita (βίη) P.Flor.II 106 Ζ Ω edd.: βίην PLG 35 rr. The minority reading could have been prompted by the wish to avoid the hiatus.

ἀπηυρων: ita Π codd. plurimi : ἀπηῦρον (ἀπηύρον) rr, *contra metrum*.

Οδυσεύς: the first υ is covered by watery ink.

431 αγων: ita P.Mich.2810 Ω: αγων θ’ P.Fay.5 [P.Flor.II 106] rr.

432 πολυνβενθεός: l. πολυβενθέος. The scribe initially wrote twice the syllable -vθε, then he corrected the first θ to β without, however, deleting the first v.

εντοϛ: (nov.Did; cf.*Od.*16.352-3) ita Π t Z Ω edd.: ἐγγύς Ar. The piece does not support the aristarchean correction, who may have misconceived the difference between λιμήν (= outer harbour) and ὄρμος (= place of anchorage, l.435), see Kirk, 1985, ad loc.

433 θεccαν δε νηι: θέccαν δ' ἐν νηὶ Π codd. Our piece offers a corrupt and unmetrical reading.

μελαινη: watery ink has covered μ.

434 ιcτοδοκη: ita (ιcτοδόκη) Π plurimi codd.: ιcτοδοκην P.Stras.31+32: ιcτοδοκε P.Mich.2810. The minority readings mar syntax and metre respectively.

υφεντες: ita Zen Π Z Ω edd., cf. *Hymn.Ap.*504, *Archil.*106.2: ἀφέντες Ar: ἐφέντες 'ceterae omnes' Didymi. Apparently, in this line the Zenodotean tradition is followed.

435 καρ]παλιμωc δ γην: l. καρπαλίμωc τήν δ'. τ and γ get easily confused in the majuscule.

προερυccαν: ita προῒρυς(c)αν (deprec. Did) Π Z Ω : προέρεccαν: Argolica Sinopensis Sosig Did edd.: προcέρυccαν Zonaras. Kirk (1985, ad loc.) argues for the vulgate reading προέρυccαν (= drew forward) rather than προέρεccαν (= rowed forward), since he detects a confusion of two processes. Cf. *Od.*9.73, 13.279, 15.497.

436 εβαλλον (unmetrical): ἔβαλον Π codd.

437 ριγμινι: l. ῥηγμῖνι. For the interchange of ι and η, see Gignac I, p.236.

438 εκατομβην: ita Π plurimi codd.: εκατομβ]ης P.Mich.2810.

439 βη: the scribe may have written ο in the first place, which he subsequently altered to η.

440 επιτ: ita P.Fay.5: l. επιτ: A common phonetic mistake, see Gignac I, pp.189-90, or/ and confusion due to the following ἐπί.

443 εκατομβην: κ may be written over an indefinite letter.

444 ath. Ar P.Ambros.1019. Aristarchus athetised the line as ‘grammatically superfluous’, which according to Kirk, 1985, ad loc., ‘is true but irrevelant’. Criticism of the Aristarchean athetesis of the line is offered by van der Valk, 1964, pp.218-9, and support by Bolling, 1944, p.61.

ιλασσομεθ: ειλασσωμεσθα P.Fay.5, fort. PSI II 13: ιλασόμεσθα edd.: ιλασ(σ)ώμεσθα, ιλασ(σ)ώμεθ’, ιλασόμεσθα, ιλασόμεσθα are all attested: The papyrus combines the two readings, between which with minor differences of spelling the manuscripts are divided, namely ιλασόμεσθα and ιλασσώμεθ’, but the result is an unmetrical form.

445 αργειοικιν: l. ἀργείοι, *metri gratia*.

π[ο]λυκτον: l. πολύκτονα.

446-447: ἐν χερσὶ - φίλην om. Zen. Expectedly Zenodotus’ novelty is not corroborated.

447 οι: ita Π γ: τοί Ω. A trivial variant.

κλειτην: (nov.Did) Π Ζ Ω West van Thiel, cf *Il*.4.102: ἱερὴν Zen Ar, cf. 1.99, 431, 443 Allen: κλυτὴν γ: κλεινὴν γ. The alexandrian scholarly reading is not supported by the ancient and medieval manuscripts.



449 ανελοντο: ita Π codd. plurimi, cf. *Il.*2.410: προβάλοντο Z Eust. ad *Il.*1.449, cf. *Il.*1.458 = 2.421.

450 χρυγηι 1<sup>c</sup>: χρύκης 1<sup>a</sup> Π codd. The scribe changed the reading, perhaps influenced by the preceding τοῖσιν.

ευχετο: ita Π codd. Allen van Thiel: ηὔχετο Fick West, see n. ad 1.329.

## 2

SCHOLIA MINORA TO *ILIAD* 1.332-341/ 1.354-360

67 6B.11/N (3)

7.9 x 9.5 cm.

late III - (early?) IV A.D.

Plates III.-IV.

Fragment of papyrus, probably from a codex<sup>4</sup>, preserving in black ink an Homeric glossary, more specifically glosses to lemmata of *Il.* 1.332-341 on the → side, which would have been apparently a right-hand side page, and lemmata (along with traces from two glosses) of *Il.* 1.354-360 on the ↓, a left-hand side page. The arrangement of lemmata and glosses is apparently in two parallel columns which are separated by blank space of several letters. The surface of the papyrus has considerably suffered from abrasion and has been punctured by small holes along the several horizontal and vertical creases. Additionally, the piece has broken off at all sides, therefore the reconstruction of the page's original format would be hypothetical. The left- and right-hand side margins are shown 2 cm. and 3.1 cm. respectively at their narrowest point. The column height is unknown. A rough estimate of the width of the page would yield a figure of about 16-17 cm., which would suggest the classification of our piece into Group 5 or 6 (Turner, 1977, pp.16-18.). The interlinear space amounts to c.0.5 cm. This codex leaf is a palimpsest. Remnants of the initial text, namely a document written in a large, slow and awkward hand, are now visible running downwards across the fibers at the margins and the intercolumnar space of the new text on the → side: Ἀὐτομήλιος, but not the name and perhaps patronymic (..[...]*ων*..(?)*ς*θε*ι*), and ἐπιφανέ[*c*]τάτων are clearly read. The latter would likely belong to a regnal formula, attested in the papyri as consular epithet for Carus, Carinus and Numerianus (in 282/3 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>, Constantius and Maximianus (in 294, 300, 302, 305 A.D.), and finally Constantinus and Crispus (in 324 and 325 A.D.)<sup>6</sup>. These dates provide a *terminus post quem* for the text of the scholia minora, which could

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this chapter I am treating the papyrus as coming from a codex, although for such a small piece we cannot exclude the possibility that the scribe has written a certain amount of lemmata on a piece of papyrus, of which when he covered the front page, continued on the back.

<sup>5</sup> See Bureth, 1964, pp.125-6.

<sup>6</sup> See Bagnall - Worp, 1978, pp.104, 105 and 109, and Bagnall - Cameron - Schwartz - Worp, 1987, pp.123, 135, 139, 145, 183 and 185.

likely have been written in the late third or early to middle fourth century A.D. The probable existence of a formal regnal title would suggest the official character of the document, while the incomplete erasure may indicate a Homeric glossary not intended for the book-trade. It would also confirm the standard practice of codex sheets being cut from used papyrus rolls (see Turner, 1977, pp.44ff.).

The glossary is well executed in an upright, medium-sized (letter-height averages 0.3 cm.), competent hand. Round (ε, ο, ω, μ, θ, c) and not rigid angular (α, δ, υ, κ) forms mix elegantly in this hand which certainly betrays much experience. Letters sometimes contact each other without actually forming ligatures. Bilinearity is violated by ι, ρ, υ, φ, whose verticals descend below the baseline. Ornamentation takes the forms of blobs, serifs and curls on the extremities of most letters. Slight shading is discernible, e.g. in the marking of α and χ. Letters worth of description are: the angular α with curved the right-hand side oblique, β written in two movements with squashed lower part, ε with protruding middle stroke, executed in two ‘sessions’, firstly the lower part along with the middle horizontal and then the upper curve is added, the almost round θ, δ which is resting on a long baseline and has its right-hand side diagonal capping its left-hand side one, υ with wide open ‘prongs’ almost forming right angle, ρ with big ‘head’, sometimes taking the form of a triangle, and finally ω with all its strokes curved. The hand displays affinities with the hands of Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEBP* 1b and 2a (= *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70), both assigned to the early IV A.D., the second more specifically could have been written about 320 A.D. Therefore, on palaeographical grounds the writing of these *Scholia Minora* could also fall into the late third century or the first half of the fourth.

Diaresis used organically (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.10) on the υ of ηυτε (l.↓11), and apostrophe employed to separate the double consonants (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.11 and n.50) in εγγυc (l.→4), are the only lectional signs in evidence. The lemmata are arranged in respect to the order of their occurrence in the Homeric text with probably only one exception (l.→5), and commonly enough with their standard form, that is without observing alterations in forms *metri gratia*, e.g. ll. ↓8,11,13. Lemmata and glosses are limited to one word, therefore no ‘elements of paraphrase’ are attested (for the term, see Spooner, 1991, p.11).

As for the provenance of the papyrus, we have no sure way to decide. As it was mentioned before, the not properly erased palimpsest may point to a private copy,



perhaps of an erudite reader. The 'density' of lemmata may place the piece into the context of a schoolroom; the proficient handwriting should exclude the possibility of the piece being written by a pupil, unless he/she is an advanced one, and certainly leaves open the option of a teacher's copy. Most of the characteristics mentioned by Cribiore, 1996, pp.97-102, being present in a teacher's hand, namely uniformity, legibility, fluency, strength, facility of the writing, letters often being linked together without their shape being affected and without forming true ligatures, are in evidence, but these are not enough to help us judge definitely.

Although the portion of the text preserved is too limited to allow a detailed and definite assessment of the Scholia Minora preserved on our piece, some remarks can be offered, based mostly on the text of the →. The glosses offered by our papyrus are normally the (or among the) expected standard ones, with the exception of the ones in ll.1,5 and 7, which to the best of my knowledge are unique. Regarding the correspondence of our piece to the other published papyri containing scholia minora on the same iliadic lines, our text appears richer in lemmata. Homeric words, such as προεφώνεον, ἐρέοντο, ἦϊσιν, ἔξαγε, μακάρων, ἔτιγεν, ἐλών, δακρυχέων, ἡμένη and ἄνέδω, were perhaps considered straightforward enough, so as not to be included in the lists of the other papyri. For the remaining lemmata, which at least one more papyrus cites, with only two exceptions out of twelve (ll.8 and 10) the papyri agree. This agreement, observed in the majority of parallel cases, could be a hint at the circulation of a somehow standardised edition of Scholia Minora to Homer in Egypt, perhaps originating from the Alexandria scholarship. The piece also confirms the well-detected correspondences between Scholia Minora on papyri and D, Apollonius Sophistes, Kyrillos and Lexeis Homericai (see Henrichs, 1971a, pp.99-116, and the commentaries in the editions of Scholia Minora on papyri), which frequently, but not always, coincide. Finally, once (l.→ 7) the papyrus provides an explanation, the kernel of which occurs in scholia maiora (bT), but it is attested more emphatically only in later sources, namely grammarians and lexica.

Published papyri containing scholia minora for all or part of these lines, available for comparison, are the following, all assigned to the II A.D.: P.Stras.inv.Gr.33 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1163, Raffaelli 011, Sutton/ West h15), P.Köln inv.2281 (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Raffaelli 016, Sutton/ West h23), P.Berl.inv.10577 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1166, Raffaelli 017, Sutton/ West h24),



P.Mil.Vogl.III 120 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1168, Raffaelli 020, Sutton/ West h28), all reedited by Henrichs, 1971a + b, pp.119-148, 229-252, 252-55 and 255-7 respectively; P.Palau Rib.inv.147 (Pack<sup>2</sup> add., Raffaelli 013, Sutton/ West h19), edited by Daris, 1974, pp.7-20, and P.Oxy.XXIV 2405 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1162, Raffaelli 009, Sutton/ West h13), this last one assigned to the II/III A.D. Moreover, in an attempt to demonstrate the relation of these particular Scholia Minora, representatives though of the enormous mass of glossographic material found in the papyri, to other relevant ancient and medieval works, I am citing as comparative testimony Scholia D (from Van Thiel's proekdosis), Scholia Maiora, some grammarians, paraphrases and several lexica. Although this list is certainly far from complete, it is indicative, I think, of the influence of scholia minora upon later works of similar nature, and thus of the importance of such subliterate material. The sigla used are those of Henrichs, 1971a, pp.117-9, with the exception of that for Hesychius (Hes.); instead I use the one introduced by LSJ, namely Hsch.

→

	. .]. .ειπ.ν
	. . .]τ. .
	ε. [.]. . .
	εγ'γυς
5	προα.ε
	προεπε..ε
	αφ.αρτων
	εκκληρου
	χρεια
10	χαλεπον
	ολεθρον
	].[

1 ].., two tiny indeterminate specks of ink. π., two small discontinuous traces from the same letter, either from the upper part of ο, or from the middle stroke of ε. I consider the former identification more likely, since there is no trace of ink above it, which would suggest the upper part of the tall ε in this hand. 2 .., part of a left-hand side curve and

a bottom one suggests an ω. From the second letter remain traces of ink on two almost parallels, well fitting a ν. 3 .[, bottom part of a diagonal ascending rightwards, compatible mostly with α, λ, δ and less ν. ]..., scattered specks of ink. 5 ., part of a high right angle, and bottom-trace suggest a γ. The ink traces visible after ε, if they belong to the new text, could be either the unusually long extension of the middle stroke of ε, or offset. 6 .., left-hand side curved line and part of a right-hand side one would match a μ. From the second letter the remaining high horizontal forming angle with a right-hand side curved line well suggest a π. 7 ., the scattered traces, all belonging to one large round letter, are consistent with θ. 12 ].[, part of a short high horizontal, which due to the colour-ink seems to belong to the Homeric glossary, compatible with various letters.

↓

.....].ν  
..] .. εν  
ελων  
απουραc  
5 δακρυχεων .[  
ποτνια  
ημενη  
βενθεci  
γεροντι  
10 ανεδυ  
ηϋτε  
ομιχλη  
παροιθε .[  
.[.].[.]..

1 ]., tiny speck of ink. 2 ].., the first trace probably belongs to the foot of a long vertical, while from the second remain only a couple of scattered ink-spots. 5 .[, left-hand side edge of a letter, perhaps of an acute angle suggesting α, δ, rather than γ, λ or ν. 13 .[, faint high short horizontal, compatible with many letters. 14 .[, a very tiny



speck of ink. ][, high horizontal, belonging to γ, ζ, ξ, π, or τ. ].., faint upper part of a tall vertical, followed by the remains of what appears a curve.

→

	[προεφωνεον]	πρ]ορειπον	1.332
	[ερεοντο]	ηρω]των	332
	[ηιειν]	εα[υ]του	333
	[αccον]	εγ'γυc	335
5	[εξαγε]	προαγε	337
	[προiei]	προεπεμπε	336
	[μακαρων]	αφθαρτων	339
	[απηνεoc]	εκληρου	340
	[χρειω]	χρεια	341
10	[αιικεα]	χαλεπον	341
	[λοιγον]	ολεθρον	341

]..[

↓

	τυτθ]ον		354
	ετ]ιcεν		354
	ελων		356
	απουραc		356
5	δακρυχεων	.[	357
	ποτνια		357
	ημενη		358
	βενθεci		358
	γεροντι		358
10	ανεδυ		359
	ηϋτε		359
	ομιχλη		359
	παροιθε	.[	360

→

1 D ad 1.332, [2.22]: προεφθέγγοντο; P.: προεφώνησαν; PM.: ἐφθέγγοντο; [Hsch.π.1292] = [Ps-Zonar.π.1588]: προαγορεύει. This lemma is not cited in the other papyri of Scholia Minora covering these lines, and the compound gloss is not paralleled with respect to its second part anywhere. If, less likely, the penultimate letter is read as ε, then perhaps φώνηεν (1.333) would be glossed as πρ]ο ς ειπε ν, or highly unlikely φώνηεν τε as κ]α ι ειπε ν as D ad 3.181; D ad 1.333: ἐβόηεν καὶ εἶπεν; P.: προεφώνηεν; PM.: unchanged.

2 Space favours ηρωτων rather than the longer ανηρωτων. So P.Stras.33.IX.3b, PM., Hsch. (Kyr.) ε.5720, Λεξ.ε.730SU; D ad 1.332: ἀνηρώτων; P.: ἡρώτησαν; Hsch.o.1573: ἀνεπυνθάνοντο. The two papyri that gloss the lemma ερεοντο, and the Lexeis Homericai coincide, but not D.

3 So D ad 2.588, PM. D ad 1.333, P.: αὐτοῦ; Hsch. (Kyr.) η.270: ταῖς ἐαυτῶν; η.272: ἰδίαις αὐτῶν; EGud.η.249.37: ἐν τῷ ἐαυτῷ. The papyrus has heavily suffered abrasion at this point, therefore other possibilities, unparalleled though, cannot be excluded, e.g. ἐνὶ φρεσί: εν [ε]αυτῷ.

4 So P.Stras.33.IX.8, P.Köln 2281.I.3, D ad 1.335 and 567, Ap.Soph.45.12, P., Hsch. (Kyr.) α.7800 (+ πλησίον) and α.7801, Λεξ.α.764U, Eust. I.175.16f. and II.263.14f., EGen.α.1303 = EM.157.40, Ps-Zonar.α.328; PM.: πλησίον. Almost all rich testimony for this particular lemma agrees, aware that ᾗccov, originally the comparative of ἄγχι, can in Homer mean simply ‘near’, ἐγγύς, (see Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s.v.).

5 D ad 1.337: ἔξω τῆς σκηνῆς κόμιζε; P., PM.: ἐξάγαγε. It remains unglossed in Hsch.ε.3489, but cf. [Hsch. (Kyr.) ε.3487] ἐξάγειν: παροξύνειν; [ε.3498] ἐξάγων: ἐκβάλλων, προφέρων; [ε.3577b] ἐξάγη: ἐξενέγκη. This is a rare lemma, and its gloss, if read correctly, is fairly unexpected and not paralleled anywhere. The verbal part of the compound remains unglossed, and it is only the preposition that is actually replaced.

These remarks along with the fact that this would be the only instance that the citation of the lemmata according to the order of occurrence in the Homeric text is violated, raises suspicions that there may have been some confusion with the following entry, which begins with the same preposition.

6 So P.Stras.IX.9a (πρ[οε]π ε μπεν), D ad 3.118, 3.346, Sud.π.2429; D ad 1.336: προπέμπει; D ad 2.752: προπέμπει, ἐκδίδωσι = sch<sup>G</sup> ad loc.; [D ad 11.270]: προπέμπουσιν; D ad 5.280, EpHom.I.326Os, P., EGud.μ.272.14-15 = EM.467.42: προέπεμψε(ν); PM.: ἔπεμψεν. Cf. also [Hsch.π.1279]. The gloss is paralleled almost everywhere, with slight disagreement in some cases regarding the tense employed.

7 cf. sch<sup>bT</sup> ad *Il*.1.339-40: θεοῦ δὲ ἦττονα τὸν βασιλέα εἶναί φησι διὰ τὸ φθαρτόν; Orion μ.102.23f: <μακάριος> ὁ μὴ κηρί, τουτέστι τῇ φθορᾷ ὑποκείμενος; EGud.μ.377.52 = EM.573.47-8: μάκαρες, οἱ μὴ πεπτωκότες ὑπὸ κῆρα (= φθοράν, see EGud.μ.577.44-5 and EM.573.35f.); EGud.μ.388.10-11: μάκαρες, οἱ μὴ κῆρα ἔχοντες, οἱ ἀθάνατοι; Eust.I.178.20f.: μακάρων δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἦτοι ἀθανάτων, ὥς μὴ ὑποπιπτόντων κηρὶ τουτέστι θανατηφόρῳ μοίρᾳ, and also ad *Od*.I.99.26-28; D ad 1.339: μακαρισμοῦ ἀξίων, εὐδαιμόνων; [1.599]: μακαρισμοῦ ἀξίοις, ἀθανάτοις, also ad [4.127], [5.340]; P.: μακαρίων; PM.: τῶν μακάρων (unchanged); [Hsch.μ.102]: μακάριοι, εὐδαίμονες, ἅγιοι; Hsch.(Kyr.)μ.109: εὐδαιμόνων, μακαρίων. The lemma has not been included in the other papyri preserving scholia minora on this line, Apollonius Sophistes and Lexeis Homerikai. Moreover, the gloss is not paralleled in identical form anywhere, but the idea contained in it is found in scholia maiora, Grammarians and later etymologica, since the origin of this gloss is etymological, but not in D, Hesychius or other Lexica.

8 So P.Stras.IX.10α, D ad 1.340-1 (+ ἀπηνοῦς, χαλεποῦ), [15.94] (+ χαλεπός), Hsch.α.6161, [(Kyr) α.6160], [(Kyr.) α.6166] (+ forms of ὠμός), Λεξ.α.627U, [Sud. (Lex.Ambros.) α.3170], [EGen.α.1007] = [EM.121.52f.], Eust.I.176.20-1 (+ ὁ ἐναντίος πρὸς τὸν ἐνηῆ), [Ps-Zonar.α.233]; P.Berl.10577.3, P., PM.: ἀπηνοῦς; [D ad 16.35]: χαλεπός; [Phot.α.2415]: ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐχ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ προσηνές. The usual gloss for this lemma, that is κληρός, is offered by this piece along with the majority of the testimony.



9 So P.Stras.33.IX.9b, P.Köln 2281.I.6, P.Berl.10577.3-4, D. ad 1.341 and 10.142, [Ap.Soph.169.9], EpHom.I.PsOs.341, P., PM., Hsch.χ.1562, Λεξ. (S 133<sup>r</sup>, U 224<sup>r</sup>)<sup>7</sup>, Sud. (Lex.Ambros.) χ.468, EM.814.34. Χρεία, simply the attic form of the epic lemma, is paralleled everywhere.

10 So D ad 1.341, 4.396 = 1.456 (+ αἰκιστικόν), 1.398 (+ ἀπεικικότα), 11.142, [19.124 = sch<sup>G</sup> ad 1.] (+ δεινόν, ἀπεικικός), [21.20] (+ ἀπεικικός), [24.733], [Λεξ.α.99SU], cf. [Hsch.(Kyr.) α.1284] ἀεικῶς: ἀπρεπῶς, χαλεπῶς; [P.Köln 2281.7]: αναρμοστος; sch<sup>A</sup> *Il*.1.97-99: τὸ μὲν αἰκέα λοιγὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπεικικότα λέγειν (τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπεχθῆ); sch.<sup>bT</sup> ad *Il*.1.341: τὸν ὕβριστικόν; sch<sup>b</sup> ad *Il*.21.20-1: στόνος δὲ αἰκῆς ὁ δεινὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς στεναγμός; [D ad 9.70]: ἀπρεπές; D ad 12.434: τὸν εὐτελῆ καὶ οἰκτρὸν; [D ad 14.13]: ἀπεικικός καὶ ἀπρεπές; [D ad 15.496]: κακόν; [D ad 24.594]: εὐτελῆ; P., PM.: ἀπρεπῆ; [Arion 291 [213].3 (ed. Ludwich)]: τὸ δεινόν (T 124) καὶ τὸ εὐτελές; [Hsch. (Kyr.) α.1271]: ἀπρεπῆ (+ ἀθεράπευτα); [Hsch. (Kyr.) α.1275]: ἀπρεπές; [α.1276]: κακόν, σκληρόν, ἀπρεπές, εὐκαταφρόνητον; [EpHom.II.PO.α.67] = [EGen.α.99] = [EM.21.47] = [ESym.α.169]: ὁ σκληρός, ὁ μὴ εἶκων; [EGud.28.13]: αἰσχρός; [Sud. (Lex.Ambros.) α.621]: τὸ ἀνόμοιον, τὸ ἀπρεπές; [Ps-Zonar.α.50]: ἀπρεπής, σκληρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἶκειν. The variety of glosses attested for this particular adjective may be due to its occurrence in many different Homeric lines. However, our piece agrees with much relevant testimony, but not with P.Köln, which also cites this lemma.

11 So P.Berl.10577.5, P.Oxy.XXIV 2405.I.24, D ad 1.67, 1.341, 1.398 (+ φθοράν), 1.456, 5.662, 8.130, (cf. also 2.873, where λοιγὸν glosses ὄλεθρον), sch<sup>A</sup> ad *Il*.1.97-9 (see above n.10), PM., [Ap.Soph.12.14], Ba.292.5 (+ φθοράν) = Phot.λ.386 = Sud. (Lex.Ambr.) λ.751, [Hsch. (Kyr.) λ.1232] (+ θάνατος), EGen.λ.135 = EGud.λ.372.62 = EM.568.19, Eust.I.80.19 and 220.26, Ps-Zonar. λ.1315; Hsch.α.6461, P.: θάνατον. Cf. further sch<sup>A</sup> ad *Il*.11.119, 20.109 and 21.281. With only two exceptions the traditional explanation offered by our piece is shared with the other testimony.

12 The position of the trace suggests that the offered gloss is very long, perhaps consisting of more than one word, although no example of this practice is in evidence. Nine to ten letters may have been lost in the gap before the trace. Likely candidates would be for instance: a gloss to ἀμῦναι (*Il.*1.341), D ad 1.341: ἀποκοβῆσαι, ἀποστρέψαι; or a gloss to θύει (*Il.*1.342), cf. P.Stras.33.IX.10b: ενθουσια ορμα; P.Köln.2281.I.9: ωρμα μαινε[ται; D ad loc.: ἐνθουσιωδῶς ὀρμᾷ ὁ ἐστὶν μαίνεται.

↓

1 ν is the only whole surviving letter, and I think τυτθον would make a good reading. Also glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.17a, P.Köln 2281.I.19, D ad 1.354, 5.443, 6.222, 10.345, 15.628, Ap.Soph.156.7, Hsch.τ.1481, Λεξ.(S130<sup>v</sup>,219<sup>f</sup>), [Ba.392.10] [Sud. (Lex.Ambr) τ.1207], EM.772.12f., Eust.I.181.23f., [Ps-Zonar.τ.1754].

2 Space rather favours the shorter and more ‘difficult’ ετιεν than ητιμηεν which is closer to the next lemma. Glossed in D ad 1.354 and 412, Hsch. (Kyr.) ε.6610, Sud. ε.3323.

3 Glossed in D ad 1.139, 1.303, 1.356, 1.507, 3.72, 8.13, 24.696, Hsch.ε.2246, Λεξ.ε.268SU, [Ba.216.24], EGen.α.1077, EM.132.43.

4 Glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.21a, P.Köln 2281.I.20, P.Oxy.XLV 3238.fr.1.3.109, D ad 1.356, 1.507, Ap.Soph.39.3-5, EpHom.I.PsPsdOs.356, Hsch.α.6759, Λεξ.α.640U, EGen.α.1077, EGud.177.5, EM.132.43f., ESym.156.17, Ps-Zonar.α.270.

5 Glossed in D ad 1.357: δακρύων, κλαίων, and Λεξ.δ.19U: δακρύων. For its writing as one word, cf. sch<sup>bT</sup> on *Il.*1.357: δακρυχέων ὑφ’ ἑν’ ἀναγνωστέον, a lectio, however, not favoured by the editors who print it as two words. The remaining trace from the initial letter of the gloss accepts δ, and thus δακρύων would be a plausible restoration.

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<sup>7</sup> The citation of *Lexeis Homericai*, not beginning with the letters α-ε, therefore not included in the edition of V. de Marco, is according to Henrichs, 1971a+b.

6 Glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.22a, P.Mil.Vogl.120.27, sch<sup>AbT</sup> ad *Il*.1.357, D ad 1.357, 1.551, 4.2, Apion Fr.110 (ed. Neitzel), Ap.Soph.134.9, [Hsch.π.1269], Ba.347.16, Sud.π.2138, EGud.π.477.56, EM.685.50, Ps-Zonar.π.1566.

7 Glossed in D ad 1.358, Hsch.η.453.

8 Glossed in [P.Stras.33.IX.21b], P.Köln 2281.II.2, P.Palau Rib.147.II.4, D ad 1.358, [Ap.Soph.51.7], Hsch. (Kyr.) β.515, (Kyr.) ε.2716 and ε.3083, Λεξ.β.28SU.

9 Glossed in P.Stras.IX22b, sch<sup>AbT</sup> ad *Il*.1.358, D ad 1.358 (πατρὶ γέροντι).

10 Glossed in D ad 1.359.

11 Glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.24a, P.Köln 2281.II.3, D ad 2.87, 2.480, 3.3, 3.10 Ap.Soph.85.10, Hsch.η.979 and (Kyr.) η.980, Λεξ.(S 114<sup>r</sup>, U182<sup>v</sup>) EGud.η.251.47, EM.440.2f., Eust.I.182.21f.

12 Glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.24b, D ad 1.359, 3.10, Ap.Soph.120.24, Hsch. (Kyr.) η.980 and ο.733, Λεξ.(S 121<sup>v</sup>, U201<sup>r</sup>), Phot.o.332, Ba.317.18, Sud.o.258, EM.624.10, Ps-Zonar.o.1447.

13 In the glossary the elided word of the Homeric text is written out. Glossed in P.Stras.33.IX.25a: εμπροθε; P.Palau Rib.147.5.II.5 (the gloss has not survived); P.Köln 2281.II.4 as προπαροιθε: ε[μπροθ]ε[ν]; D ad 1.360, 1.500, 4.185: ἔμπροθεν; and 3.162: τὸ ἐξῆς ἐστι παρελθοῦσα (ZYQ) ἐν πρόω δεῦρο (ZQ); Ap.Soph.127.33-4: ἔμπροθεν; Hsch.π.1201: ἔξωθεν, ἔμπροθεν; Ba.333.15: ἔμπροθεν, πρὸ τούτου; Phot.π.398: ἔμπροθεν; Ps-Zonar.π.1526: πρότερον ἢ ἔμπροθεν, .... σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ πρῶτος. The remaining trace of the gloss in our piece is too small to afford any concrete conjecture, but it is certainly compatible with ε for ε[μπροθεν], which is the ‘standard’ gloss that the testimony offers.



14 Too damaged to be restored securely. Possibly the lemma listed is αυτοιο, glossed in D ad 1.360, 1.500, Hsch. (Kyr.) α.8418, and Λεξ.α.831U.

COMMENTARY ON *ODYSSEY* 3.

33 4B.82/G (18-20)a

6.9 x 15.4 cm.

II A.D.

Plate V.

Fragment of a roll containing a commentary (ὑπόμνημα) on the opening lines of the third book of *Odyssey*. More specifically, along the fibres of this piece are preserved parts of 25 lines from the upper part of a column, an upper margin measuring at least 2 cm., and a left-hand side one of at least 1 cm. There should be a loss of about one third of the line which is estimated to have in total accommodated about 35-40 letters or slightly less. An approximate calculation is not easy, since abbreviation is frequently used. Many small holes mar the surface of the papyrus, in particular the first nine lines. The writing in ll.18-20 has almost completely vanished along with the horizontal fibres which carried it. Column-height is unknown. The back is blank.

The text is written in a rapid, small, but not tiny, upright hand with a slight leaning to the right, basically round, typical for a commentary. Cursive ‘touch’ is in evidence in most letter-forms and in the tendency of letters to contact each other. However, despite the ligatures and abbreviations the hand is readable and carefully executed. Notable are the ligatures formed with ε. α appears with two forms, one round and one angular, as well as τ, with its horizontal straight but also broken (l.17). The second upright of ν is short and does not reach the bottom of the line. ο is tiny apart from the beginning of the line. μ has a low curved belly, and φ tiny bowl. Bilinear apart from φ, ψ and some ι. The initial letters of each line are slightly enlarged. The hand can be assigned to the II century A.D., and its general impression is like the hands in which P.Oxy.XXXI 2536 is written (assigned to the II A.D.), in particular the second and third ones (plate in Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, 61).

The commentary is conventional in type but fuller and more detailed than the existing *Odyssey* scholia, to which it does not correspond closely. There is slight contact concerning the comment on λίμνη, but apart from this, which is a common entry in scholia and lexicographa, the extant scholiastic corpus offers little on the Homeric text covered by our piece. This lack of much correspondence, shared by most other extant

papyri bearing 'typical' scholia on *Odyssey* (with clear exception the 'abridged' scholia preserved in the II century Florence papyrus edited by Bartoletti, 1966, pp.1-4), is interesting for the tradition of ancient scholia. Maehler (1994, pp.95-127, see also the discussion following in pp.128-141) has argued that scholia of at least some hellenistic poets, e.g. Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius, appear more detailed in the papyri than in medieval manuscripts, perhaps due to technical reasons, namely the alteration of the book-form from roll to codex, and of the scriptio from majuscule to minuscule. We cannot be certain of the validity of this argument, but it should be a possibility, open even for the Scholia on *Odyssey*. In any case, our piece was a scholarly enough product: exegetical details are provided (ll.7-11), further Homeric passages are adduced (ll.13-15) and Greek poets (writers) are quoted, Sappho by name (l.3), others anonymously (ll.3,15). Within this small fragment no textual criticism explicitly representative of the Alexandrian, that is mainly Aristarchean and post-Aristarchean, or Pergamene scholarship seems to be included. In conclusion, as far as one can estimate, it could be placed among the scholarly commentaries, comparable in type to P.Oxy II 221 (II A.D., on *Il*.21, Pack<sup>2</sup> 1205, Pap.XII Erbse) and P.Fay.312 (II A.D., publ. by Haslam-Montanari, 1983, pp.113-122 on *Od*.21); it appears to be a more erudite work than P.Iand.I 2 (I B.C., on *Il*.11, Pack<sup>2</sup> 1194), but it cannot be confirmed whether it was as elaborate and comprehensive as P.Oxy.VIII 1086 (I B.C., on *Il*.2, Pack<sup>2</sup> 1173) or 1087 (late I B.C., on *Il*.7, Pack<sup>2</sup> 1186), for instance.

The way the long lemmata, confined more or less to the limits of an Homeric verse, are separated from the comments becomes visible in l.16, that is by means of space equal to about one letter and very likely high dot placed just before the beginning of the commentary. Each lemma begins a new line (ll.1,6,16) and was written ἐν ἐκθέσει by the width of one letter. Paragraphi mark the conclusion of a note (ll.5,15). As far as it can be reconstructed, the commentary proceeds systematically through the first four lines of *Odyssey* 3 by means of sequential notes, apart from ll.12-15, which should have been entered before, and this misplacing is marked through the marginal sign before l.12 (see below n.12). No lectional signs are in evidence. Punctuation is indicated by means of space of one letter (ll.8,13,14,15,23?). Corrections (l.8), cancellations (l.4?) and additions *supra lineam* (l.7) were made *prima facie* by the same hand. Abbreviations are used consistently mainly in the quotations of the Homeric verses and in some basic words, ὠκεανόν (l.2), οὐρανόν (ll.13,14), λέγει? (l.9).



For other remnants of *Odyssey* commentaries, excluding scholia minora, see P.Oxy.LIII 3710, p. 91, with the addition of P.Oxy.LXV 4453, which appears more ‘in the nature of a treatise’ according to Haslam, the editor of the piece.

ηελιοδ[.]νορουσελι.ων. .ρι[  
 ωκεδ<sup>υ</sup>μονο.λιμνηνλεγ[  
 αλλοιδεωνκαιαπφω.ο.ωκ[  
 ταυ. . α[. .] . αλληλοι.γ[.]  
 5 ωσπροστηνημετεραν.α[  
 ιγαθαν<sup>υ</sup>φαινοικαιθν. [. .] . [   
 ροι.γινεται\και/νυξκαιημε[  
 α . . η<sup>υ</sup>δογ επι.τ.γ.ε[  
 πρ . <sup>υ</sup> λεγ<sup>υ</sup> επανκρυψη[  
 10 ουτωσοιαρχαιοιαυτ[  
 μηδεπαραιοιθεοι[  
 / εχουσαιτονυπεργη[  
 καιχαλκεονουρ<sup>υ</sup>διο[  
 ουρ<sup>υ</sup>ικεν κατατοι.ε[  
 15 καιχρυσουνλε.ει οιδε[  
 .ιδεπυλοννηλεπτο<sup>υ</sup> .[  
 . .]ηπυλο.ε.τερο.μ[  
 . [. . . .] . [   
 [ . . . . ] [   
 20 c.3 ]. . . [. . .] . [   
 c.2]. .ουνηλεω.κ[  
 c.2]οι οι.ε.πι.μ[  
 c.5]. .εν η[  
 c.6].ηπ[. .?]ν[  
 25 c.6]. [. .] . . ?[  
 . . . . .

1 ι., vertical slightly curved suiting the left-hand side of π. ..ρι., specks of ink, the first belonging to an upright, the other two to the top of letters, compatible with π, ε and κ respectively. 2 ο., remain of the right-hand descender of the expected ν. γ., trace of ink from the top of a letter, attached to the horizontal of γ. 3 ω., half top horizontal, apparently of a τ. .ω, the apex of ν. 4 ..[, the first letter could be δ written on the top of a letter which could be λ, followed perhaps by ι also cancelled?. ]., part from an oblique ascending rightwards. c.: indeterminate speck belonging to the top of a letter. .[, letter-foot trace. 5 ν., middle half round part of a letter with part of long descender below the notional parallel, suitable for φ or ψ. 6 ν', trace of the supra lineam η (cf. l.16). .[, a cursive narrow β. ]...[, trace from a slightly curved descender, part from a small high round letter, and finally lower part of vertical ending mildly curving leftwards, compatible with τ, ο and ι respectively. 8 α., right-hand side part of a stroke which at the bottom curves leftwards. The high trace could belong to a supralineation similar to the ones in ll.2, 13 and 14 standing for α. .η, bottom part of a descender curving leftwards, τ, ι, ρ, ψ, φ being acceptable. τ., part of the left-hand slightly curved side of a letter, admitting ο, ω, η with difficulty. c., speck of ink to lower right of c. 9 ρ., the first trace suggests ο, followed by the tall, slightly curved left-hand side of a letter suggesting β (cf. l.6). 11 ι., top of a letter, slightly curved, well suiting the expected c. 13 ο., remains of a curved letter, which should belong to a c. 14 c .[, λ should be excluded, and χ is to be considered almost certain. 15 ε., γ is hardly to be doubted, its horizontal cannot be seen clearly due to abrasion. .[, part of a small oblique, ligatured to ε, going upwards, suggestive of several letters: α, δ, ε, λ, π, ρ. 16 ο., speck of ink. 18 ..[, foot of the first two or three letters of the line. If the first two traces belong to the same letter, they could equally form the lower part of η, λ, π, χ, even ν. ].[, high arc suggestive of α followed by an indeterminate speck. 19 The surface is destroyed. Visible is only an apex placed quite high in the line, likely belonging to a supralineation. 20 ....., the second letter could likely be ν -unless the right-hand side stroke belongs to the successive letter-, followed by a narrow letter with prolonged stroke rightwards, perhaps ε or c, connected to a blob of ink. ].[...].[, unassignable traces. 21 ..ο: speck followed by τ or γ. 23 ..ε, top of a tall stroke, suggestive of φ or ψ followed by ζ or an irregular υ. 24 .η, indeterminate speck. ν., low left-hand side angle compatible with δ, even ξ, ζ.

25 ]..[...?[, traces of top of four or five letters, the last (or the one before the last, if the traces after the gap belong to three letters) with a long horizontal.

ἥελιος δι' ἀνόρουσε λιπὼν περικ[αλλέα λίμνην τὸν (*Od.3.1*)

ὥκεα(νὸν) οὐ μόνον λίμνην λέγε[ι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμὸν

ἄλλοι δὲ ὦν καὶ Καπφὸ τὸν ὠκ[εανόν

ταυ. . α[. .] . ἀλλήλοισι . υ[.].Ι

5 ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φα[

ἔν' ἀθανά(τοι) φαίνοι καὶ θνη(τοῖ) β[ρο]τοῦσιν (*Od.*3.2-3)

ροῖς γίνεται 'καὶ' νῦν καὶ ἡμέ[ρα

α..( ). ηῦδον ἐπι τ.ν c.[

προβ<sub>α</sub>( ) λεγ<sub>·</sub>( ) ἐπὰν κρύψη[

10 οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτ[

μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς[

/ ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆ[ς

καὶ χάλκεον οὖρα(νόν) διο c[

οὐρα(νὸν) ἴκεν κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρ

15 καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγει οἱ δὲ .[

οἱ δὲ Πύλον Νηληΐ(ο)ς ἐϋ(κτίμενον) πτολ(ίεθρον) ·. (*Od.*3.4)

1-2]η Πύλος ἕτερος μ[

$$\cdot \cdot [\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot] \cdot \cdot [$$

[ ]

20                    c.3 ].v. .[. . .].[. . .].[

c.2 Ἰ.του Νηλέως κ[

c.2 ]οι οίς επιμ[

c.5 ]. .εν η[

c.6 ].ηπ[. .? ]v.[

25 c.6]. [. .]. . .?]

• • • • •



2 This is the only line in Homer where Ὠκεανός is called λίμνη. Λίμνη is, however, used for the sea in *Il.* 13.21, 13.32, 24.79, [*Od.* 5.337], and should refer to the sea or the ocean in *Hes. Th.* 365 (see West, *Th.*, pp. 268-9). For this particular meaning of λίμνη, cf. sch ad *Od.* 3.3: λίμνην ὁ ποιητὴς πᾶν ὕδωρ φησί, νῦν δὲ τὸν Ὠκεανόν; sch<sup>D</sup> ad *Od.* ad loc.: λίμνην νῦν τὸν Ὠκεανόν; Arion (*Phil.* 74, p. 246.1) on λίμνη: ἡ θάλασσα (ε 337), ὁ Ὠκεανός (γ 1) καὶ τὸ κύνηθε; also *Ap. Soph.* 108.28-30; *Hsch.* λ. 1039; *Sud.* λ. 551; *EM.* on λίμνη (p. 566, ll. 12ff.); sch<sup>A</sup> ad *Il.* 21.246b, and *Eust.* ad *Od.* 3.1 and ad *Il.* 14.245. With *Od.* 3.1 can be compared a fragment of Aesch., *Prometheus Unbound* (fr. 192 = *TrGF* III, p. 309), where a lake is described as being near Ocean (παρ' Ὠκεανῶ), in which the Sun washes himself and his horses at the end of each tiring day, and according to Lesky, (1959, p. 31), 'aus dieser Stelle herausgesponnen ist'.

It is tempting to restore λέγε[ι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμόν. Cf. *Il.* 14.246, 18.607, 20.7, *Od.* 11.158, 169, 639, 12.1; *Hes. Th.* 242, 959. Λέγει does not seem to have been written abbreviated at this point.

3 Since the poem of Sappho which contained the reference to the ocean has not survived, it is not easy to supply what she and others called the ocean, which is most likely different from the aforementioned in the commentary λίμνη and ποταμός. Plain conjectures could be: ρέυμα, as for instance in Aeschylus, *Prom. Bound*, 300: πῶς ἐτόλμησας, λιπὼν ἐπώνυμόν τε ρέυμα; Plato, *Phaed.* 112.e.3ff.: τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ ἄλλα πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ρεύματα ἐστὶ τυγχάνει δ' ἄρα ὄντα ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολλοῖς τέτταρ' ἅττα ρεύματα, ὧν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον καὶ ἐξωτάτω ρέον περὶ κύκλῳ ὁ καλούμενος Ὠκεανός ἐστιν; *Theaet.* 180.d.1-2: ὥς ἡ γένεσις τῶν ἄλλων πάντων Ὠκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ρεύματα <ὄντα> τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔστηκε; sch ad *Od.* 11.158: οἶον ἵνα μὴ ἄλλον ποταμόν ἢ ρέυμα λέγωμεν, αὐτὸν πρῶτον Ὠκεανόν. Πόντον: cf. *Eust.* ad *Od.* 11.11 (I, p. 396.16ff): καὶ ὅρα τὸ ποντοπορούσης, ἐν ᾧ δηλοῦται ὥς εἰ καὶ ποταμόν ἢ ποίησις λαλεῖ, ἀλλὰ πόντον αὐτὸν ἄλλως οἶδε, τουτέστι τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. Ἐξω θάλασσα: *Eust.* ad *Il.* 5.6, 14.245, *Od.* 3.1, 11.11 (see above), 11.638, and sch ad *Od.* 11.11: δῆλός ἐστιν ὁ ποιητὴς διὰ τὸ ποντοπορούσης Ὠκεανόν καλῶν τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. Moreover, cf. sch<sup>A</sup> *Il.* 21.195: Κράτης δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν (fr. 32 M) δεικνύει ὅτι

Ὠκεανὸς Μεγάλη θάλασσα.....ἦν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ μὲν Μεγάλην θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος, οἱ δὲ Ὠκεανὸν προσαγορεύουσι. Finally, Πηλὸν αἰδνόν: Hsch.α.1780: αἰδνόν· μέλαν· ἢ ἀφανιστικόν· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν πηλὸν αἰδνόν; π.2192: πηλὸς αἰδνός· περὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἐστὶ τόπος. Καὶ τὸν ὀρίζοντα ὠκεανόν, both entries in *Suppl.Hell.* 1097. I doubt, however, if Sappho would have used any of these.

4 This line is puzzling. I can recover neither the exact words nor the sense. It could be part of an explanation given of Sappho's name for the ocean, or perhaps of the naming of the ocean as river. ταν at the beginning seems certain, which may be followed by a λ corrected to δ, and a ι which may have been also crossed out. Two letters are likely lost in the gap, to the right of which a long oblique emerges. The best guess that I managed to make is that the scribe may have written initially υδατα with scriptio plena, which he subsequently altered by deleting the last α by means of this stroke, whose edge slightly resembles an apostrophe. If τα υδ[[λι]]α[τ[[α]]] could be an acceptable reconstruction, perhaps at this point is offered a comment on the relation of the ocean to the various rivers through the exchange of water, an idea expressed for instance in Arist., *Mete.*, 354b.16-7: ...καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὕδατος ἢ θάλαττα. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οὐ μόνον εἰς ταύτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης φαί τινες ρεῖν. For the belief that all rivers and springs flow ultimately from the ocean, cf. *Il.* 21.195-7 and Hes. *Th.* 337-345, where all the male children of the ocean are rivers.

5 ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φα : the ligature of ερ is rather unusual. The trace before the last α is compatible with φ. In this case φα[ντα]σίαν would make good sense. The term φαντασία is encountered frequently in the Homeric Scholia, see for instance, Baar, 1961, p.199. If this restoration has any chance of being correct, the phrase could be paralleled exactly by *Scholia in Aratum*, 794.11: μετέωρον δὲ κέρασ (scil. τῆς σελήνης) τὸ βόρειον κέκληκεν, ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φαντασίαν, and could be related to the quotation from Sappho regarding ὠκεανός.

6-7 ἀμφοτέ|ροις, would be a satisfactory restoration, that is both ἀθανάτοις and θνητοῖς βροτοῖς.



γίνεται: this is the common spelling in the Roman papyri, see Gignac I, p.176. At the end of the line a causal may be expected, something like: ἐπεὶ θνητοί, if we restore ἄθᾰ (νατοι) in l.8, or ἐπεὶ ἀθάνατοι/ θεοί, if we restore ἄνθ(ρωποι).

8 ἄθᾰ(νατοι) τ' ἠῦδον? The reading of θ, however, is difficult. Alternatively, one could think of ἄνθ(ρωποι); ν makes a good reading of the second letter, but not θ of the *supra lineam* abbreviation. I think that the gist of the comment in ll.7-8 could be that gods also sleep at dusk and wake up at dawn, as mortals do. Cf. sch<sup>BT</sup> ad *Il*.1.475: ἥλιος κατέδυ ὄρος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὕπνου καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἡλίου δύσις. η is irregularly written; the scribe seems to have written ε for the Homeric εὔδον, which he himself changed to η for the attic ἠῦδον.

ἐπι τ.ν c.: this could be a gloss to ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν, like ἐπὶ τὴν κυτοφόρον γῆν. In this case, the last part of l.6 may have been occupied by this lemma. The trace, however, after τ is not really compatible with η, but with ο or ω and in terms of space more than a letter could have been accommodated (τὸ ν ς ἦτον φέρουσιν?). cf. for instance: sch ad *Od*.3.3: ζείδωρον τὴν τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν δωρουμένην, and similarly ad 11.309, sch<sup>D</sup> ad *Od*.3.3, sch<sup>D</sup> ad *Il*.2.548; Hsch.ζ.93: ζείδωρον τὴν τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν δωρουμένην; Ap.Soph., 81.2-3: ζείδωρος ἡ τὸ ζῆν δωρουμένη γῆ; Eust. ad *Il*.2.548: ἐκεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον ἀνεδόθη καρπός, οὗ μέρος καὶ ἡ ζειά, ὅθεν ἡ ζείδωρος; 20.226: ζείδωρος δὲ ἡ βιόδωρος ὡς δωρουμένη τὸ ζῆν τροπῇ Βοιωτικῇ τοῦ η εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον, ἥ ἡ τῶν εμπορίμων δότεира ὡς ἐκ μέρους τῶν κοινῶς λεγομένων ζειῶν. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ πού εἰς ταῦτόν φησιν ἄγεσθαι τὰς ζειὰς ταῖς ὀλύραις; Hsch.ζ.91: ζειά: οἱ μὲν κύτου εἶδος, οἱ δὲ τὰς ὀλύρας; EM., p.410.5ff.; Sud.ζ.44; for ἄρουρα, cf. sch<sup>G</sup> ad *Il*.2.548: ἄρουρα γὰρ ἡ γῆ, παρὰ τὸ ἀροτριᾶσθαι; Hsch.α.7378: ἄρουρα ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀροῦσθαι. Ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἡ εὔριμος.

9 προβᾰ(λλειν/ λλεσθαι) λέγε (ι/ται)/ λέγο(υσι) ἐπὶ κρύψη [τὴν σελήνην/ τοὺς ἄστέρους/ τὰ ἄστρα could be mere conjectures. In this case there is no correspondence to the sch<sup>D</sup> and lexicographers which gloss φαίνοι as follows: φαίνει, λάμψη in sch<sup>D</sup> ad *Od*.3.2; φαίνω: φανῶ, δύσσομαι Ap.Soph.161.29; λάμπω EM., p.786.29, Sud.φ.21.



The idea of the moon or/and the stars being hidden by the sun is common in ancient astrological treatises and literature; cf. for instance: Plut.*Coniug. Prae.*139.c.1f.: τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν ἀποστῇ τοῦ ἡλίου, περιφανῇ καὶ λαμπρὰν ὁρῶμεν, ἀφανίζεται δὲ καὶ κρύπτεται πλησίον γενομένη; *Aet.Rom.* 269.c.3f.: ὅτι ταῖς τῆς σελήνης διαφοραῖς ὀρίζοντες τὸν χρόνον, ἑώρων ἐν τρισὶ γινομένην διαφοραῖς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ μῆνα ταῖς μεγίσταις, πρώτη μὲν ὅτε κρύπτεται κύνοδον ποιησαμένη πρὸς ἥλιον, δευτέρα δ' ὅταν ἐκφυγοῦσα τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου καταφανῆς πρῶτον ἀπὸ δυσμῶν γένηται, τρίτη δὲ τῇ περὶ πλήρωσιν αὐτῆς πανσελήνου γενομένης; *De Iside et Osiride* 372.d.9f.: τὰς κρύψεις καὶ τοὺς περισκιαμοὺς ἐν οἷς διώκει ποθοῦσα τὸν ἥλιον. *Scholia in Euripides' Hipp.*851.2f.: ἡ μετὰ ἀστέρων φαινομένη σελήνη, ὡς πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἡλίου. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κρύπτει πάντων τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ φῶς; Joannes Chrysost., *PG.*57.64.31: ἡ γὰρ (σελήνη) τῆς ἀκτίνος φανείσης τῆς ἡλιακῆς, κρύπτεται εὐθέως καὶ ἀφανίζεται; Theo Sm., p.136.10f., where among other he mentions: σελήνη μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον κυνοδόν, ἐπειδὴ θάπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἐπόμενα ποιεῖται κίνησιν, αἰὲ ἐσπερία πρῶτως φαινομένη καὶ ἀνατέλλουσα, ἑῷα κρύπτεται καὶ δύνει, and in p.137.16f.: τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον (ἢ δύσις) ὁ πρῶτος ἀφανισμὸς ἄστρου τινος ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγῶν, ἥτις καὶ κυρίως κρύψις πάλιν προαγορεύεται. Cf. also Geminus, *Introd. aux Phénom.*, 13.1-5.

For the different abbreviations of λέγω, to which this one should be added, see McNamee, 1981, p.53.

10-11 What appears to be at issue in these two lines is that Ancient Greeks did not consider the Sun resting/ living neither among the mortals nor among the immortals. I would supply them for instance as follows: οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτῶν (scil. τὸν Ἥλιον) μὴ / μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς/ ἀνθρώποις<sup>11</sup> μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς [νομίζουσι. . . .

12 The diagonal stroke (/) set in the left margin, should be used in this case to mark the beginning of the scholion on οὐρανὸν ἐκ πολύχαλκον (*Od.*3.2; the formula recurs in *Il.*5.504) which should have appeared before the commentary on the second hemistichion

of the same verse, that is ll.6ff. The simple penstroke is the commonest of all signs, occurring in literary papyri with various uses (see McNamee, 1982, pp.17-8).

ἔχουσι: οἱ ἀρχαῖοι?

τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆ[ς τόπον/ αἰθέρα/ ἄερα/ οὐρα(νὸν) πολύχαλκον?: οὐρανόν, if written in this line, is likely to have appeared abbreviated, as in ll.13, 14, unless it was kept intact in its first reference. Cf. sch<sup>bT</sup> ad *Il.*15.192-3: πάντα τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄερα τῷ Δί φησι δοθῆναι, διὰ μὲν τῶν νεφελῶν τὸν φωτιζόμενον ἄερα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως νεφελῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ νέφη τόπον, ὃν καὶ οὐρανὸν ὀνομάζει. Perhaps at the end of the line one could expect: λέγει δὲ (sc. Homer).

13 καὶ χάλκεον οὐρα(νόν): cf. *Il.*17.425 imitated by Pindar, *Pyth.*10.27, *Nem.*6.3; Eust. ad *Od.*15.329, ad *Il.*11.33, 241. Additionally, cf. (Διὸς) χαλκοβατέε δῶ in *Il.*1.426, 14.173, 21.438, 505, *Od.*8.321.

οὐρα(νόν): cf. l.14. This abbreviation differs from the ones cited by McNamee (1981, p.74) for the same word.

Presumably, lines *Il.*17.424-5 are adduced: εἰδῆρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς χάλκεον |<sup>14</sup> οὐρα(νόν) ἴκε. If I have rightly recognised these lines, the Iliadic verse was adduced apparently as an example of the use of the epithet χάλκεον for οὐρανός.

14 One could supply: κατὰ τὸ ἐχ[υρὸν χάλκεον or/and πολύχαλκον or/and εἰδῆρεον; on εἰδῆρεον, cf. *Od.*15.329 [17.565]: τῶν ὕβρις τε βίη τε εἰδῆρεον οὐρανὸν ἴκει. Additionally, Eust. ad *Od.*3.2, *Od.*15.329 and *Il.*5.504. Alternatively perhaps: κατὰ τὸ ἐχ[υρὸν πολύχαλκον, κατὰ τὸ καλόν/ λαμπρόν] |<sup>15</sup> καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγει (see n.15). In this last case καί at the beginning of l.15 would be responsive (Denniston, <sup>2</sup>1950, pp.293f). I have also considered a supplement with ἀντὶ τοῦ, which very often occurs in scholia, but the combination with καί (l.15) would be awkward, unless the ἀντί-phrase has two parts, e.g. ἀντὶ τοῦ πολύχαλκον, χάλκεον] | καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγει, where καί would be simply copulative.



15 The phrase χρυσοῦς οὐρανός is not attested in Homer, but ‘most divine things were golden: floor, thrones, cups, clothes and accoutrements; golden clouds surround the mountain-top’ (Kirk, 1985, p.331 ad *Il*.4.2). For examples of houses of gods described as golden in Greek poetry see Diggle ad *Pha*.238 (p.153), also Maehler, 1982, p.207 on πολυχρύς. The point of this line could be deduced from the following comments: sch<sup>A</sup> ad *Il*.4.2: πῶς τὸν οὐρανὸν πολύχαλκον λέγει καὶ πάλιν χρυσοῦν, ὥς τὸ χρυσεῷ ἐν δαπέδῳ; ἰστέον δὲ . . . ὅταν δὲ καλόν, χρυσοῦν; sch<sup>G</sup> ad. loc.: ἰστέον ὅτι ὅταν μὲν στερεὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν φησι, πολύχαλκον λέγει, ὅταν δὲ λαμπρὸν χρυσοῦν; sch<sup>D</sup> ad loc.: χρυσεῷ ἐν δαπέδῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κεχρυωμένῳ καὶ καλῷ ἐδάφει/οἴκῳ. Ἰστέον οὖν ὅτι ὅταν μὲν στερεὸν λέγειν βούληται, τότε πολύχαλκόν φησιν. Ὅταν δὲ καλὸν χρυσοῦν λέγει τὸν οὐρανόν; Eust. ad loc. and 8.43.

λέγει: this most probably refers to Homer (cf. 1.2). A supplement like ἄλλος δέ in 1.14, would be awkward in juxtaposition with οἱ δέ (1.15).

οἱ δέ .: I would expect an adjective used for the heaven and related to a metal like ἀργύρεον, πολυχρύς. I did not manage to find a parallel for the first, but for the latter, cf. *Bacch.Ep*.11.4: ἐν πολυχρύσῳ <τ> Ὀλύμπῳ, and *Eur.Hipp*.69: Ζηνὸς πολυχρύς οἶκον. Another option could be: οἱ δὲ χρυσοῦν κατὰ τὸ καλόν/λαμπρόν.

17 The best guess I could make is that this line refers to the location, disputed already in antiquity of Nestor’s Pylos, summed up in the antique riddle recorded by *Arist.Eq*.1059, *Plut.de vitando aere alieno*, 829c, *Strabo*, 3.7.8, *Steph.Eth.*, 377.10 and others: ‘ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο. Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος’. Three are the candidate places, all in western Peloponnesos, namely in Messenia, in Triphylia and in Elis. Among these, the first is traditionally known as Nestor’s Pylos (see *Pind.Pyth*.6.35), while the second is favoured by *Strabo* (8.3.7 and 3.24ff.), who argues on the basis of the description of Telemachus’ voyage from Pylos to Ithaca (*Od*.15.296-300), and of Nestor’s recalling of the war between the Pylians and the Epeians (*Il*.11.670-761). For more information on the three mentioned cites and the archaeological evidence, see Heubeck - West - Hainsworth I, 1988, pp.159-160. Alternatively, this line may include a grammatical



observation on the fact that Pylos is in Homer both feminine and masculine, cf. Steph.Byz., *Eth.*, 540.4, Eust. ad *Od.*2.591.

18-20 The surface of the papyrus in these three lines has been destroyed and only few traces have remained. The scholia contained in this line are beyond recovery.

21 ff. The content of these lines is a matter of guesswork. They may have concerned the destruction of Pylos by Heracles, who killed all the sons of Neleus but young Nestor, who was then sent or was already being brought up at Gerena or Gerenon, a city in Messenia: cf. sch<sup>Til</sup> ad *Il.*11.93; sch<sup>D</sup> ad *Il.*2.336; 5.392; Eust.ad *Il.*1.251-2; 2.336; 5.392-4; ad *Od.*21.27.

21 τοῦ Νηλέως: this line could still comment on *Od.*3.4 (l.16) where Νηλῆος is mentioned, or might be a comment on the reason for the sacrifice to Poseidon who was Neleus' father (*Od.*3.5ff.).

22 επιμ: perhaps a form of ἐπιμέλεια or ἐπιμέλομαι/ ἐπιμελοῦμαι is to be supplied.

23 ἔ]φυν?

24 ἥπ[ιo]ν/ γήπ[ιo]ν? for two small and narrow letters would fit in the gap.

## II. DEMOSTHENES

This part contains five papyri of speeches of Demosthenes that have been identified in the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society. Two short non-demosthenic pieces, the former considered to belong to the same roll as no.6 and preserving parts from the same speech, and the latter written on the back of no.5, are published below as nos. 9 and 10 respectively. All of them come from papyrus rolls and were written in the second and third centuries, as the majority of the Greek literary papyri. None of them preserves a considerable portion of text. The collation takes as basis the apparatus of K. Fuhr, *Demosthenis Orationes*, vol.1, (Leipzig, 1914), which gives the most detailed account of the principal manuscripts, SFAY. I have also consulted the editions of SH. Butcher, *Demosthenis Orationes*, vol.1, (Oxford, 1903), M. Croiset, *Démosthène Harangues*, vols.I and II (Paris, 1959), and JE. Sandys, *Demosthenes On the Peace, Second Philippic, On the Chersonesus and Third Philippic* (London, 1913), and *The First Philippic and the Olynthians of Demosthenes*, (London, 1924). In supplementing lacunae and short lines, I have followed Butcher's edition with a view to presenting a complete text; however, it need hardly be mentioned that the original text may have differed from the readings supplied. In the commentary elision has not been taken into account, since *scriptio plena* occurs frequently, possibly as a tendency to isolate individual words and without necessarily corresponding to actual speech (for the treatment of elision and hiatus in the papyri, see Gignac I, 1975, pp.315-321, and Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.8). The sigla used are those of the edition of Fuhr (explained in Praefatio, ix-xxi). I tried to avoid citations of groups of manuscripts (e.g. the term 'vulgate' employed by Butcher), given that sometimes individual manuscripts considered to belong to a particular group, provide variant readings.

DEMOSTHENES, *OLY.*III, 1, 33; *PHIL.*I, 7, 15-16, 22.

115/A(27)a	Fr.1: 2.0 x 4.6 cm.	II A.D.
	Fr.2: 1.1 x 2.3 cm.	Plate VII.
	Fr.3: 2.4 x 3.8 cm.	
	Fr.4: 4.8 x 9.0 cm.	
	Fr.5: 2.3 x 1.5 cm.	
	Fr.6: 1.6 x 2.2 cm. (unplaced)	

Five small (Fragment 3 is made up of two contiguous pieces) and one bigger piece of a papyrus roll, preserving along the fibres in black ink, parts from Demosthenes *Olynthiaca* III (3) and *In Philippum* I (4). The roll accommodated speeches classified as *Φιλίππικοί*, very likely already in antiquity (see Haslam, 1976, pp.9-10), cf. also the almost contemporary manuscripts P.Oxy.XV 1810 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 256) and LXII 4314. Top margin is shown in Frs.1 and 4 (and perhaps in 3) measuring up to 1.4 cm., left margin in Fr.6 of about 1 cm., and right margin is hardly seen in Fr.4. Twenty-one letters are on average accommodated per line, therefore, the width of the reconstructed line amounts to c.6 cm., a pretty common figure (Kenyon, 1951<sup>2</sup>, pp.57-9, and Johnson, 1992, pp.423-427). The back is blank.

The text is written in a rounded, medium to small, fairly fast and upright hand of informal character, with occasional cursive tendencies. Letters are normally narrowly spaced, and sometimes touch each other. Notable letters are: ε with detached central stroke which makes contact to the following letter; the enlarged ν; μ with deep bow; υ with three different forms: made in a single stroke with a looped base, with arms forming a deep acute angle and very short stem, and with shallow curved arms and taller stem; ο variable in size; α in round loops, and sometimes angular. θ and c assimilate to ο. Ornamental finials are employed plentifully on the extremities of most uprights and obliques (e.g. δ, κ, λ, ν, π, τ, υ, φ, χ), and enhance bilinearity, interrupted only by φ and ρ which project below the notional parallels. Additionally, smallish loops often decorate α,



μ, ω. I would place this hand in affinity with the ones illustrated in *GLH* 14, dated to the middle of second century A.D., and *GLH* 11b, dated to 94 A.D. Additionally, this hand cannot be chronologically distanced from the ones shown in Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 17 and 22 respectively, placed in the second century A.D. It also shares many features with the two second century hands in Schubart, *PGB* 29b and 30b.

No lectional or critical signs are employed apart from diairesis having probably the form of two dots (of which one is actually visible) on the top of initial υ in Fr.4.1.9 (inorganic use, see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.10). Punctuation as high point occurs in Fr.4.1.6, and a space-filler is evident at the end of 1.8. Tacit elision is effected in Fr.3.1.2.

There are no variants of relevance for the history of the transmission of the text. A reading of S is supported against the rest of the codices (in Fr.4.1.8). Modern conjectures are not supported (11.4 and 9 in Fr.3 and 3 in Fr.5), as well as the first century B.C. reading of Dionysius Halicarnasseus (1.4 in Fr.3). On the contrary, upon the same reading agree all papyri which offer 1.3 in Fr.3, but apparently not the ones preserving 1.2 in Fr.4.

The text of Fr.3 overlaps with that of P.Sorb.I 6, col.ii (assigned to c.200 A.D.) and P.Oxy.XLII 4314, Fr.5 (assigned to first/second century), that of Fr.4 with P.Oxy.XV 1810 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 256), *Phil.*I, Fr.5-6 (assigned to the early II century A.D.). As far as can be judged from such a small fragment, the two ancient manuscripts preserving Fr.3 transmit the same text. Parts of Demosthenes iii are also transmitted in P.Berol.21280 (publ. by Maehler, 1981, pp.199-203), P.Oxy.LXII 4316 of the II/III century, 4317 assigned to the I/II century, and PSI XI 1205 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 259) + PSI inv.2018 (= no.11 in Manfredi, 1983). Text of Demosthenes iv is further represented in P.Oxy.LXII 4318, 4319, 4320 and 4321 of the same volume, all assigned to the II and III centuries. Additionally, sections of this speech are covered in P.Wash.II 66 (II/III A.D.) and P.Genève inv.258 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 260) of the IV/V century, the latter included in Hausmann, 1921, no.iii.

#### Fr.1

.υχιταυ.[

*Ol.* III.1

ουχι ταυτ[α παρισταται μοι γι

.νω[.]κειν[

γνω[ε]κειν [ω ανδρες αθηναι

	.]ι[.]ταντ.[	ο]ι [ο]ταν τ ε[ις τα πραγματ α
	ποβλ.[	ποβλε[ψω και οταν προς τους
5	λογο.[	λογου[ς ους ακουω τους μεν
	.]αρλο[	γ]αρ λο[γους περι του τιμωρη
	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr.1:

1 ., high speck of ink. .[, part of high horizontal. 2 ., high horizontal. 3 .[, high speck of ink. 4 .[, bottom speck of ink, joined with the downward oblique of λ. 5 .[, two high traces of ink.

Fr.2

. . . . .		. . . . .
.]νχρ.[	<i>Ol.III.33</i>	θ]ων χρη[ςθαι ιως αν ιως
.]ανδρε[		ω ανδρε[ς Αθηναιοι τελειον
.]...με[		τι] και με[γα κτησαιςθ' αγαθον
.]..ων[		κα]ι των [τοιουτων
. . . . .		. . . . .

Fr.2:

1 ]., small circlet, open at its bottom left-hand side. .[, vertical. 2 ]., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. 3 ]...., upper part of an oblique ascending rightwards, followed by right-hand side smallish part of curve and the foot of a long letter. 4 ]., two upper specks of ink and a vertical.

Fr.3

. . . . .		. . . . .
.]..ct.[	<i>Phil. I.7</i>	τερον και ε]κατο[ς υμων ου
]ναιταν.[		δει και δυ]ναιτ αν π[αρασχειν
]ρησιμ.ν[		αυτον χ]ρησιμον[ τη πολει
]αφεις την[		πασαν] αφεις την[ ειρωνειαν

5	]μοc.[	ετοι]μος π[ραττειν υπαρξη
	]χηρη[	ο μεν ]χηρη[ματ εχων ειcφερειν
	]·[·].[	]·[·].[
	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr.3:

1 ]·., two low specks of ink, the second touching the left-hand side of c. ]·, low traces of ink. 2 ]·, high speck of ink. 3 μ·., left-hand side part of a curve. 5 ]·, two specks of ink at the same high level. 7 ]·[·]·., tiny specks of ink.

Fr.4

	]·ν·ιδ[-8-	<i>Phil.I. 15-6</i>	ποθεν διαμε]ιναι δ[υνηcεται
	]δ[·.]·λ·υ·c.[-7-		εωc αν η] δ[ι]αλ·υ·c·ω[μεθα πει
	]·τ·νπολεμονη...[-1-		cθεντε]c τον πολεμον η περ[ι
	]εθατωνεχθρωνου		γενωμ]εθα των εχθρων ου
5	]·ετιτουλοιπουπα		τω γαρ ο]υκετι του λοιπου πα
	]γανκακωc·οιμαιτοι		cχοιμε]ν αν κακωc·οιμαι τοι
	]ταυταλεγεινεχειν		νυν εγω] ταυτα λεγειν εχειν
	]·υωνειτιcαλλοcε>		μη κατα]λυων ει τιc αλλοc·α>
	]·ενουν·		παγγελλεται τι η] μεν ουν ·
10	]·εγαλητοδ.		ποcχεcιc ουτω] μεγαλη το δε
	]γελεγχονδω		πραγμ ηδη το]ν ελεγχον δω
	]εcεcθε[·?]πρω # 16		cει κριται δ υμειc] εcεcθε [·?] πρω
	]·ωανδρε[1		τον μεν τοινυ]ν ω ανδρε[c
	]·π[-2-].[1]		αθηναιοι τριηρε]ιc π[εν]τ[η
15	]α·c[		]α·c[
	. . . . .		. . . . .

Fr.4:



1 ]., interrupted traces of ink, which could belong to an upright. γ., short almost horizontal. 2 [.]., circlet on the top of a short horizontal. c., high smallish open curve. 3]., speck of ink and short low horizontal. τ., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. η..., foot of two serifed verticals, low part of a curve and speck of ink at mid-letter-height, followed by the long tail of a letter. 5 ].., short high part of oblique ascending rightwards and scattered specks of ink which could form a vertical. 8 ]., part of the slightly curved downward oblique of a letter. 9 ]., part of right-hand side downward oblique. 10 ]., short part of a line touching the left-hand side of ε. δ., high part of curve. 13 ]., lower part of a vertical. 14 ].., scattered specks which could belong to one vertical, followed by the lower part of a curve. ].[, part of high horizontal.

Fr.5

.....		.....
].[		].[
].τρι[.]	<i>Phil. I.22</i>	ταχειω]γ τρι[η]ρ[ων
]κηδυναμ[		ημιν οπως ασφαλω]c η δυναμ[ic
]τοιcη[		πλεη ποθεν δη του]τοιc η τ[ρο
.....		.....

Fr.5:

1 ].[, bottom part of a curve, open to many possibilities, but expected to belong to either υ or ε. 2 ]., low speck of ink. .[, serifed foot of a long letter. 4 .[, high speck of ink.

Fr.6

....	....
ω.[	ω.[
cχ[	cχ[
τα.[	τα.[
[.]αc[	[.]αc[
....	....

Fr.6:

1 .[, high speck of ink. 3 .[, bottom-part of a round letter, mostly compatible with c.

Fr.1:

3 Scriptio plena could have been preserved even in both cases in this line.

εἰς

4 Spacing is indecisive whether πρὸς or εἰς was written: πρὸς S: πρὸς F: εἰς U. πρὸς may appear in the manuscripts due to influence of the following clause: ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους (ἀποβλέψω). Cf. Aeschin.3.168: ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε.

Fr.2:

1 I supplemented according to the edition of Butcher, although space is indecisive whether the papyrus read χρῆσθαι with AYO, or χρήσθε with S.

η

3 Space is inconclusive towards the attested readings: κτήσθε S: κτήσασθε F: κτήσεσθε AU: κτήσασθ' cett.

Fr.3:

4 την[ ειρωνειαν: ita P.Sorb. P.Oxy.4314 (restored on grounds of spacing) codd.: τὴν om. Dionys.Hal. *Ant.Rom.*9.45.2.6 (ed. Jacoby), id. *Dem.*23.17 (ed. Usener-Rademacher, vol.v); del. Frohberger coll. Soph.*Phil.*120 (πᾶσαν αἰσχύνην ἀφείς), et Blass om. coll. 24.49 (πᾶσαν ἀφήρησαι καυτοῦ [τὴν] συγγνώμην). The papyrus does not lend support to indirect tradition or modern conjectures.

ο

5 ἔτοιμος: ita codd. plerique: ἐτοίμως S<sup>1</sup>U: ἐτοίμως F. ἔτοιμος is supplied in P.Sorb. and P.Oxy.4314. ἐτοίμως occurs 23 times in the whole demosthenic corpus.

πράττειν del. Dobree: 'neque loci sententiae aptum est neque in εἰσφέρειν et στρατεύεσθαι dividi potest' (Cobet).

6 εἰσφέρεισθαι P.Sorb. This reading arose probably due to homoioteleuton with στρατεύεσθαι. What our piece read, evaded us.

Fr.4:

2 Spacing suits εως rather than τεως. ἔως SU edd.: τέως P.Oxy.1810 FB. A common banalisation. Disputing of these readings also in Dem.2.21; 20.91; 21.16; 23.108; 24.63,64,80,81,105; 29.43, 56.14, where τέως is employed as a synonym of ἔως, cf. also the examples cited in *Suda*, s.v. τέως, ll.11ff., among which, however, the present line is not quoted reading τέως.

8 Spacing favours καταλύων S rather than κωλύων cett., or κατακωλύων coni. Weil.

9 οὖν susp. Blass.

15 The remains of the line are indecisive upon the reading; παρασκευάσασθαι codd. plerique, maluit Fuhr: παρασκευάσθαι O<sup>1</sup>: παρεσκευάσθαι Blass coll. Dem.4.19, maluit Butcher.

Fr.5:

3 Due to spacing Cobet's supplement of ἄν before πλέη should be rejected.



DEMOSTHENES, *PHIL.*III, 8, 19-20

88/161 (b)+(c)

Fr.1:3.1 x 6.4 cm.

II A.D.

Fr.2: 4.3 x 11.6 cm.

Plate VII.

Two small fragments of a papyrus roll preserving along the fibres in black ink Demosthenes *Phil.*III (9) 8 and 19-20 respectively. The second fragment shows part of the bottom margin amounting to 2.2 cm. The dimensions of the column and the original length of the roll cannot be estimated. The reconstructed line averages 18-19 letters, thus its width is calculated to be c.5.5 cm., a common figure for an oratorical piece (see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.57-59, and Johnson, 1992, pp.423-7). Lines are well spaced, since the interlinear area measures consistently 0.5 cm. On the back of the first fragment are preserved the beginnings of four lines of an unidentified text written in a rapid hand with cursive features (edited below as no.10).

The text is written in an informal, fast, medium-sized round hand. Markedly round letters are κ with curved diagonal strokes, δ and α written in round loops, μ with deep round bow. The writer slips sometimes into ligature and cursive forms. ε has both forms, that is the cursive elliptic one and the one consisting of two curves, even in succession (e.g. l.5 of Fr.1), and ligatures with ι and υ. There is a general tendency to make the letters touch each other (e.g. θ and ε). β and round φ are tall, the only letters which interrupt bilinearity. ω is broad. ε and η often have a high cross-bar which projects, in θ both sides, and makes contact to the ensuing letter. The vertical of υ is replaced by a blob or serif on the basis of the letter. Some ornamentation in the form of blobs, loops and serifs. The hand could be assigned to the second century. It seems to attempt a script like the ones displayed in Roberts, *GLH* 13a and b, dated to c.125 A.D. the former, and assigned to the first half of the second century A.D. the latter. It is also comparable, but probably slightly earlier, to *GLH* 20b, dated to 206 A.D. Additionally, the hand of this papyrus shares features with the one in Schubart, *PGB* 22a and b, both dated, in all probability, to the first half of the second century, and that of the text of the *Gnomon of Idios Logos*, seen in Norsa, *Scrittura Letteraria*, Tav.12b, dated to 150-161 A.D. Cf. also Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22 and 24, assigned to the same century.

No critical or lectional signs are preserved but middle (ll.1,2,11 of Fr.2) and high point (l.5 and likely in l.3 in Fr.2) for marking punctuation. According to the modern editions the scribe missed three occasions for marking a stop in ll.1 and 6 in Fr.1, and 12 in Fr.2. For the types of stops, their function and appearance in the papyri, see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.9, par.11. Scriptio plena has been preferred apart from l.11, where elision is made tacitly.

The text of this piece confirms that where the medieval tradition is divided, the papyri of Demosthenes do not side systematically with any particular manuscript or family. Accordingly, it agrees with S and L in reading προβάλλει against the 'vulgate' προβάλλεται (l.ii.1), but ἀναβάλληθε is to be read with FY against ἐάχητε of SL (l.ii.3). The portion of text preserved in these two fragments does not leave space for any conclusions regarding the double redaction of the demosthenic text. The fact that there was no standardized text of Demosthenes in the Roman period in Egypt has become particularly evident with the publication of the three other ancient manuscripts which contain parts from *In Philippum* III: P.Mich.inv.918 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 266), a fourth century parchment codex preserving par. 29-34, 61, 62-68 (publ. by Winter, 1925, pp.97-114), and P.Oxy.LXII 4333 of the third century covering par.31-5, both belonging to the longer redaction, and finally P.Fay.8 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 267, Hausmann, 1921, no.ix) of the second century bearing par.38-40 and 43, representing the shorter redaction. Apparently, the text of this papyrus does not overlap with that of any other papyrus published so far.

	Fr.1		Fr.2
	. . . . .		. . . . .
	]οβαλλειτοιςδ[ # 8		]θεηδη[ #19
	]τοστοιςτου.[		]νφημια[
	]χρηταιτιλοι.[		]θεουδετ[
	]ηναμυνε.[		]ληθεδυ.[
5	]νδειρην.[		]ικαιτοco[
	]ιβουλεσθεω[		]καωνα[
	. . . . .		]δρεσθηνα[
			]βουλευοντω[

10

]δοκειμουπε[  
].υνσκοπειν[  
]ου'αλλεπαμ.[  
]τοιςκαιδιατ[ # 20

Fr.1:

1 ], bottom trace and high part of curve belonging to the same letter. 2 υ., part of the extended right-hand side prong of the υ could belong to the ensuing letter. 3 ι., left-hand side part of high horizontal touching the preceding ι. 4 ], bottom of right-hand side oblique ascending leftwards. ε., joined with ε low left-hand side curve. 5 υ., tiny speck of ink at mid-letter-height. 6 ].ι, spot of ink attached to the middle of ι, presumably the ending of a stroke.

Fr.2:

1 ], part of the extended cross-stroke of θ on the left, could belong to the cap of the preceding c. 4 .[, a vertical stroke. 5 ].ι, short part of a line touching ι at about two thirds of its stem. 10 ], low faint speck of ink attached to a vertical. 11 .[, foot of an upright.

Fr.1

. . . . .

π]ροβαλλει τοις δ[ ερ # 8

γοις αυ]τος τοις του π[ο

λεμου ]χρηται τι λοιπ[ον

αλλο π]λην αμυνε[θαι

5 φασκει]ν δε ειρηνη[ν

αγειν] ει βουλεσθε ω[

. . . . .

Fr.2

. . . . .



αμυνη]εθε ηδη [cω #19  
 φρονησει]ν φημι· εα[ν δ  
 αναβαλλη]εθε· ουδε τ[ουθ  
 οταν βου]ληεθε δυν[ησε  
 5 εθε ποιηc]αι· και τοcο[υτον  
 γ' αφεcτη]κα των α[λ  
 λων ω αν]δρες αθηναι[ιοι  
 των cυμ]βουλευοντω[ν ωc  
 τ' ουδε ]δοκει μοι πε[ρι χερ  
 10 ρονηcου ]γυν cκοπειν[ουδε  
 βυζαντι]ου· αλλ επαμυ[ναι  
 μεν του]τοιc και διατ[ηρη # 20

Fr.1:

1 προβαλλει: ita SL<sup>1</sup> edd.: προβάλλεται FAY. The papyrus supports the reading of the best considered manuscript against the vulgate. The middle form could be also acceptable.

4 αμυνεc[θαι: ita codd. edd.: ἀμύνεσθαι A. The piece offers the correct reading.

6 βουλεcθε: ita codd. edd.: βούλεcθαι Y<sup>1</sup>.

Fr.2:

ονεῖν

1-2 cωφρονήcειν codd. plerique: cωφρονίcειν S<sup>1</sup>: cωφρονήcειν F: cωφρονεῖν AY. In respect of space in our piece cωφρονεῖν could perhaps be excluded, therefore the papyrus could have offered the lectio melior, that is cωφρονήcειν (cωφρονίcειν yields no sense).

3 αναβαλλ]ηεθε: ita FY: ἐάcητε SA.

4-5 δυνήεεθαι Reiske: δυνήεεθε codd. As regards the space both lectiones could fit. In this case, I supplement the reading of the manuscripts, and not that of a modern conjecture, which the editions print.

6-7 I supplement with the manuscripts, but by reason of space I think that ω, a fairly large letter, before ανδρεε (l.7) may have been omitted, and at the end of l.6 perhaps a space-filler could have been inserted.

12 καί ante τούτοις A. On grounds of space καί was very likely not written in our piece.

DEMOSTHENES, *DE CLASSIBUS*, 8-10

27 3B.39/c (1-3)a

12.5 x 15.2 cm.

late II- early III A.D.

Plate VIII.

Bottom of two columns from what used to be an elegant roll containing Demosthenes *De Classibus* (14), 8-10. Specifically, only ten lines from the second column remain practically undamaged, while from the first column only a couple of letters or half line at its best are in evidence. The remaining piece has suffered some wear along four vertical folds. Generous bottom margin preserved to c.6 cm., and intercolumnium, averaging 2.6 cm. reveal the pretensions of the book to beauty of appearance (for the size of the margins, see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, p.60). In between the twenty-one lines of the two columns, further twenty-one lines are missing, therefore the column contained thirty-two lines in total, a normal figure according to Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, p.59. The original height of the column amounts approximately to 15.6 cm., since the scribe appears slightly inconsistent with the number of lines in each column; the first column is one line shorter than the first. The width of the column approximates 5.6 cm., a common figure for columns bearing oratorical texts, (see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.57-9, Johnson, 1992, pp.423-7). The whole of the text of *Or.*14 could fit in twenty seven columns. If we allow a top margin equal to the bottom one, the dimensions of the papyrus roll, if contained only this oration, are calculated to be c. 224 x 27.6 cm. The estimated height of the roll tallies with the expected figure of this dimension, which is 25-32 cm. (see Johnson, 1993b, p.47). The unusually small width-figure for a normal Greek literary roll (c.7.3 feet, see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, p.54) suggests that this roll presumably included at least one more Demosthenic oration. The obvious candidate(s) would be among the Συμβουλευτικοὶ Λόγοι (Deliberative) of Demosthenes, cf. the codex P.Berol.13274 (Hausmann, 1921, no.x) which preserves parts of Dem.14, 15, 16. Maas' Law is followed in the second column. The writing in black ink runs along the fibers. The back is blank.

The dimensions along with the reading marks (see below) of this piece are in agreement with the elegant handwriting, and reveal that this ancient manuscript was a



cared edition, intended in all probability for the book trade. The script is a nice specimen of the well known Severe Style (Strenger Stil according to Schubart, 1925, pp.124ff.) or Formal Mixed (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.22). In particular, it is a medium-sized, neat and fairly slow hand, very slightly sloping to the right. Bilinearity is infringed only by ρ, φ, υ and τ. The characteristic contrast in this style between round small (ε, θ, ο, c) and large, mostly angular, (α, η, ν, υ, and μ) letters is apparent. Shading is hardly extant in some fine horizontals which contrast with slightly thicker verticals and obliques. α is angular, and ω is not completely flat but keeps its middle stroke. The horizontal hasta of τ is extended conspicuously leftwards at the beginning of the line. φ has its bowl diamond-shaped, and ξ has its middle part of the form of a comma. There is a tendency for letters to become smaller towards the end of the line. The only decorative element is tiny serifs at the edge of some horizontal and vertical lines (e.g. ρ, υ, τ). One may adduce for comparison both the highly stylised and the slanting hands displayed in *GLH* 19b and c, written in all probability in the first half of the third century the former, and in 202 A.D. the latter. Our hand could not be much chronologically distanced from the one of P.Oxy.I 23 (plate VI), which seems slightly later, and whose *terminus ante quem* is 295 A.D. Cf. also Seider.II 33 (Taf.XVI), likely the same hand of P.Oxy.I 23.

A small filling mark (>) is employed at the end of l.ii.10 and perhaps of l.ii.5, while the prolonged cross-stroke of ε may perform the same duty at the end of the same line. Punctuation is indicated, wherever marked in the modern editions, by means of space equal to one letter for a shorter pause, like the one marked by the modern comma, and two letters for a stronger stop, in both cases followed by short paragraphi below the first letter of the line, where the pause occurs. Rough breathing is marked in l.ii.11 on the top of ω having the angular form (form 2, according to Turner's classification, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.11). Diaresis as two dots is used on the top of the initial υ in l.ii.8 (inorganic use). Iota adscript is normally written (ll.i.7 and ii.11). Elision is effected (ll.i.10 and ii.3) but marked by means of an apostrophe in the former case only, while scriptio plena was preferred in l.ii.6 (αγωνα ορθωc).

The papyrus offers two new, inferior to the ones accepted though, readings in ll.ii.2 (omission of δή) and 7-8 (παρσκευαcαμενουc). It does not defend pseudo-Dionysius' ancient readings (ll.ii.9,10-11) or a modern emendation (l.ii.5-6) against medieval tradition. Finally, a reading of the papyrus recurs only in Y (l.ii.10).

The text of this papyrus overlaps with no other so far published. Other ancient manuscripts with fragments from Dem.14 are P.Milan.71.80, edited by Daris, 1972, pp.73-5 no.4, a papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus dated to the second century A.D. containing par.5-7, and P.Berol.13274 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 270) edited by Hausmann, 1921, no.x, a parchment codex of the fifth or sixth century, preserving par.40-1.

col.i			col.ii		
. . . . .			. . . . .		
	] .α	# 8		.[	
	]ινο			̄μενπολεμ[.]νδ.[-3-]	# 10
	]πρo			ταπαραινωμηδεξε	
	]των			νοcτροπουπροτερουc	
5	]ναν			ανελεcθαι επιδε .	
	]υ			̄τοναγωναορθωcφη	
	]ωιcυμβου			μιπαραcκευαcαμε	
	]ιμωτερα			ουcυπαρχεινχη	
	]ειπεινε			ναι ειμενουνετε	
10	] . δ'ωανδρεc	# 9		̄ροcμεντιcτροποc>	
				ηνδυναμεωcωιτουc	

col.i: 1 ], speck of ink at mid-letter-height , well belonging to the upper right-hand side oblique of φ's tetraedron. 4 ], long vertical. 6 ], high speck of ink and in parallel line upper part of vertical. 10 ].., foot of vertical followed by tiny speck of ink.

col.ii: 1 .[, lower part of an oblique ascending rightwards suggesting more α than χ. 2 δ .., foot of a vertical followed by low pointed speck of ink. 5 ε., faint trace of ink either stray ink or part of a line filler.

	η δεινον ειπειν] φα	# 8	α[ρχειν νομιζω τον	
	νηναι αλλ' εκεινο		μεν πολεμ[ο]ν δια [ταυ]	# 10
	και χαλεπον και] προ		τα παραινω μηδ εξ ε	
	σηκον επι με]ν των		νος τροπου προτερους	
5	κινδυνων τη]ν αν		ανελεσθαι επι δε >	
	δρειαν ενδεικ]νυ		τον αγωνα ορθως φη	
	σθαι εν δε τ]ωι συμβου		μι παρασκευασαμε	
	λευειν φρο]νιμωτερα		νους υπαρχειν χρη	
	των αλλων] ειπειν ε		ναι ει μεν ουν ετε	
10	χειν ε]γω δ' ω ανδρες	# 9	ρος μεν τις τροπος>	
			ην δυναμεως ωι τους	

col.i:

3 By reason of space καί could have been written before χαλεπόν, therefore the emphasis is preserved: καὶ ante χαλεπόν om. A.

4-5 των [κινδυνων]: ita codd. edd.: κίνδυνον S<sup>1</sup>. The papyrus offers the correct reading in terms of orthography.

6 The line was supplied according to S, followed unanimously by the editions, although both suggested readings could fit into the line: ἐνδείκνυσθαι S: ἐπιδείκνυσθαι FAY. The reading of FAY probably stems from the misreading of a ν with somehow curved middle oblique to π and ι.

10 The scribe initially could have omitted ω which himself squeezed in the space left for punctuation. According to the calculations of Dickey, 1996, pp.202-206, Demosthenes' use of ω̂ with vocatives amounts to 90%, and particularly the word ἄνδρες is usually preceded by ω̂, which does not actually count as a case of hiatus.

col.ii:



2 μὲν δὴ πόλεμον codd. edd.: δη om. 6. I do not think that there is ground for the omission; it seems a mere scribal slip.

3-4 μηδ ἐξ εἰνός: ita codd. edd.: ἐκ μηδενός A. The papyrus preserves the best reading along with most of the medieval manuscripts, cf. also Isoc.*Phil.*3: τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδ' ἐξ εἰνός τρόπου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

5-6 δε τον: ita codd. edd.: τὸν δ' Flagg. The modern emendation, prompted by the violation of 'Blass' Law', is not supported. For this rhythmic law, stating that Demosthenes avoided a sequence of more than two short syllables, see more recently McCabe, 1981, *passim*, and especially chapter 4, who concluded after scientific examination that 'Blass' Law' is in general valid, leaving room for exceptions amounting from 5% up to 16% in some cases (McCabe, 1981, pp.127-129). However, the strict application of this 'Law' in the transmitted demosthenic text functioned as an impediment in earlier scholarship. For some objectionable remarks to this law, see Usher, 1993, pp.26-27, n.58.

7-8 παρασκευασαμενους: παρεσκευασμένους codd. edd. A unique reading, however inferior to the one unanimously transmitted in terms of sense in the context.

9 ουν: ita codd. edd.: τοίνυν [Dion.] *Ars Rhet.*10.353.17 (ed.Usener-Radermacher, vol.vi). A trivial variant. In the demosthenic corpus εἰ μὲν οὖν occurs forty-nine times, while εἰ μὲν τοίνυν twenty-two.

10 μεν post ετερος: ita Y, maluit Butcher: om. cett. et edd. The papyrus agrees with Y in offering the *lectio melior*. Ἐτερος μὲν matches ἔτερος δέ (l.10.5 in the editions), while the omission of μὲν probably arose due to the preceding one.

10-11 τις τροπος ην: ita codd. plerique: ἦν τις τρόπος FY, maluit Butcher: τις ἦν τρόπος [Dion.] *Ars Rhet.*10.353.18. Divergent readings concerning word order is a common banalisation. A mere conjecture would be that in the first reading τις preceded

in an attempt to parallel the corresponding phrase in 1.10.5 in the editions: ἕτερος μὲν τις/ ἕτερος δέ τις.

11 ὧι: ita codd.: ἧ [Dion.], *Ars Rhet.* 10.353.18 (vide commentarium), maluit Butcher. The papyrus confirms the reading of the medieval tradition against the antiquity of pseudo-Dionysius' one.

DEMOSTHENES, *PRO MEGALOPOLITIS*, 10-11

112/123 (a)

10.5 x 9.8 cm.

late II - early III A.D.

Plate IX.

A brittle fragment from a papyrus roll of light colour and poor quality showing the first mostly complete eleven lines of a column, traces from a second one, along with intercolumnium, top, and part of right-hand side margin, measuring 1.5, 2.8 and 1.8 cm. respectively. The text written along the fibres in black ink is Demosthenes *Pro Megalopolitis* (16) 10-11. Ink has faded almost completely at some places and the sheet is punctured by small holes. A kollesis is visible in the intercolumnium, about 1 cm. from the line endings of the first column. The width of the column amounts to 6.3 cm. and averages 20 letters per line, an expected dimension for a column preserving oratory (Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.57-9, and Johnson, 1992, pp.425-7). Maas' Law has been probably observed. The back is blank.

The text is written in a fairly small, irregular and sloping rightwards hand, classified as an informal specimen of the Severe Style. The general impression of the hand and the layout would characterise a book copied for private use. There is an apparent contrast between broad (ν, μ, η, τ) and narrow letters (ε, θ, ο, c). Cursive influence is traced in the ligature of ει (l.8), the shape of μ (l.11) and ω which loses its middle stroke and approximates to ο (perhaps also under cursive influence, see Roberts, *GLH* 15c). δ appears with broad base and initial loop. The initial letter of each line is enlarged, and even more conspicuously the letter beginning the column; for this practice see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.7 and n.25. The sloping and almost strictly bilinear hand reveals a tendency for decoration by means of little serifs which enhance bilinearity. One may deduce for comparison *GLH* 19c, dated to 202 A.D., and perhaps *GLH* 22c, 'written at a date not very distant from 200 A.D.'. Thus, the hand of our piece could be assigned in the late II - early III century.

Strong punctuation by means of high point is visible in l.4. Its ink, however, suggests that it was not marked *currente calamo*, but during the revision. In l.6 a horizontal stroke has replaced the final ν of the line but not of the word, consistent with



the rules of syllabification. According to Crönert, 1903, p.360, the first instance of this practice is to be found in the Fragment of *Philippic* III, col.i.1.10 of P.Fayum 8 of the second century A.D. Traces of a mark above the initial letter of the fourth line which is not the end of the tail of an elaborate initial ρ, suggest a paragraphos or a critical mark of unidentified function, which could be related to the correction in l.4 or the strong punctuation in l.5. In the latter case the mark, which is uncertain if it is still valid, could have been wrongly placed above than below l.4. The text seems to have been revised, but it is not certain whether two different hands are at work. The corrections (in ll.3 and 9) are in darker ink, but they could have been made by a scribe who corrected his own blunders, after having finished with the writing of the text. The same hand certainly wrote α superscriptum in l.2. Elision is effected tacitly in ll.4 and 10, for l.3 see note below. Iota adscript is written superfluously in l.7.

The papyrus offers a new reading (l.10) which confirms a modern conjecture. The agreement of the recentiores with the papyrus in two points (ll.5 and 9) confirms the antiquity of these readings. The piece does not lend support to the modern emendations in ll.8 and 10. One more interesting point as regards the textual criticism of this piece is that it shares a very close text with the sole ancient manuscript that preserves the same section of the speech.

This fragment overlaps the text preserved in col.II of P.Berol.13274 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 273), a parchment codex of the V/VI century A.D., edited by Hausmann, 1921, no.x. One more ancient manuscript bearing the text of *Pro Megalopolitis* is P.Berol.13283 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 272), a second/third century papyrus codex, preserving par.8-10 and 12-13, also edited by Hausmann, 1921, no.xi.

	col.i		col.ii
	δε.κο.ει.μενκαιπρα.		.[
	τε[.] \α/ει.[.]δικαια. μπα		[
	_ρατηρε[.]νδο[[ς]]\π/.αμακαι		]·[
	συμφεροντ.εται. . .ταεσ # 11		.ω[
5	τιτοιν. . . .τ..ουτος		..[
	]ςλογοςπαρ.ατ. .αντιλεγο-		.[

	]ωσκομ.Ϸ. θ̣α.τονωι	.[
	]ημα̣εν.ει̣ρειν̣δει	.].[
	]οηθη̣Ϸ[[α]]\./ν.α.αν	. . . .
10	].ε̣παυτο̣νε̣χ[	
	]ξ̣.μ[	
	. . . . .	

col.i:

1 ε., low short horizontal and discontinuous traces of ink upon the same vertical line.  
ο., high right angle hardly evident. ι., two close specks of ink. α., high speck of ink. 2  
ι., low speck of ink. α., scattered traces of ink, expected to belong to two letters. 3 .Ϸ  
, left-hand side low curve. 4 τ., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. ...τ, part of high  
horizontal followed by traces which could form a downward oblique, and then short part  
of vertical and trace on its left. 5 ....., scattered and faint specks of ink. τ., right-hand  
side curve of ο followed by traces of the same vertical stem. A line visible after τ seems  
to be offset. 6 τ., low traces which could form a curve, followed by short part of  
oblique ascending rightwards. 7 μ., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. Ϸ., traces on the  
same oblique followed by faint high traces. α., speck of ink from a narrow letter. 8 ν.,  
top, bottom and right-hand side bits of a large letter. 9 \./, see commentary. ν., foot of  
a slanting stroke. .α, high speck of ink. 10 ]., high apex. 11 ξ., high speck of ink.

col.ii:

1 [.], part of slanting short horizontal which could be the serifed foot of the initial large  
letter of the column. 4 .ω, lower part of a letter curved rightwards well suggests c.  
Thus, the word to be restored would be in all probability one from the following:  
ωτηρία̣Ϸ (Dem.16.12.5), cώμα̣Ϸι (12.6), cώζειν (12.7), cωθέν̣τε̣Ϸ (12.8), ωτηρία̣Ϸ  
(12.9), even ἐcώθη̣Ϸαν (13.4). 7 .[, half top part of a vertical.

col.i	col.ii
δε Ϸκο̣πειν̣ μεν̣ και̣ πρα̣τ̣	.[
τε[ιν] \α/ει τ[α] δικα̣ια̣ Ϸυ̣μπα̣	[
_ρα̣τη̣ρε̣[ι]ν̣ δ̣ ο̣[[Ϸ]]\π/ω̣Ϸ̣ α̣μα̣ και̣	.].[





9 β]οηθης[[α]]\ο/ντας: α was written in the first place but struck through. However, the angularity of the letter written *supra lineam* casts doubt on whether is the expected ο or α marked anew. If the second suggestion has some chance of being correct, a mere assumption could be that the scribe, confused by the variants preserved in his exemplar(s), crossed out α initially, but before proceeding with the actual correction, collated it with another copy, and rewrote α. Βοηθήcovτας P.Berol. A corr. Y<sup>1</sup>: βοηθήcαντας SA<sup>1</sup>Y corr.: βοηθήcαντας F<sup>1</sup> ras. in covτας mut. deinde rursus α corr. et ο superscr.

αυ: the last letter of the line shares features with both ν and η, which suggests that at some point it has been transformed from the former to the latter or vice versa. The final form of the letter marked in darker ink as well as the preceding α, suggests that the reader should read a ν. The apparent horizontal above υ is on moving fiber and should belong to the letters below it. ἄν ante ἡμῖν FAY: add. *supra lineam* P.Berol.: om. S. As concerns this line, the papyrus, if the valid reading is βοηθήcαντας, could offer the *lectior melior*; future participle with ἄν is really exceptional and probably always corrupt, see LSJ s.v. ἄν A.IV.4., cf. also Dem.19.342.2. However, Hausmann, 1921, p.66, states that the original lectio was not the aorist participle with ἄν expressing a future hypothesis, but the simple future participle. This reading very early should have been misspelt as aorist participle, and then ἄν was inserted to improve the new ‘corrupt’ reading.

10 To judge from the spacing νυν was probably written before επ’ αυτον; νυν επ’ αυτον έχθρουc maluit Butcher: νυνει παυτον έχθρουc P.Berol.: επ’ αυτον έχθρουc (om. νυν) A: νυν επ’ αυτουc έχθρουc S: έχθρουc επ’ αυτον νυν FY: νυν del. Voemel. P.Berol. apparently offers a corrupt reading, in the same direction, though with our piece. ’Επ’ αυτουc offered by S is wrong, the ending apparently influenced by the ensuing noun. Νυν may have been written in the first place, since it is normally inserted below (τὸ δ’ έχθρουc ἡμῖν Λακεδαιμονίουc ἔceσθαι νυν) ‘ut Demosthenes verba antecedentia quasi repeteret atque refutaret’, in Hausmann’s words, 1921, p.66.

DEMOSTHENES, *PRO MEGALOPOLITIS*, 24-25.

66 6B.4/P (1-2)f

Fr.1: 4.8 x 8.9 cm.

III A.D.

Fr.2: 6.3 x 6.4 cm.

Plate X.

Two fragments from the same column of a papyrus roll showing top and left hand margins of about 2.9 and 1.5 cm. respectively, preserving along the fibres in black ink parts from Demosthenes *Pro Megalopolitis* (16) 24 and 25. In its present state the column contains 23 incomplete lines, while one more line (l.11) has vanished leaving no traces between the two fragments. Apparently, the piece has suffered extensive damage, and its surface is marred by numerous holes. The restored line averages 14-15 letters, and the column-width 6 cm., a typical dimension for an oratory column (see Johnson, 1992, pp.423-7, and Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.57-59). The interlinear space is 0,3 cm. The back is blank.

The text is another specimen of the Severe or Mixed Style, known from several hundred examples from the end of the second to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. In particular, this hand is upright, well-spaced and of medium size. The general impression of bilinearity is violated by ρ, φ, υ and slightly τ and χ. There is mixture of broad angular (α, δ, η, κ, λ, μ, ν, τ) and narrow round letters (ε, θ, ο, c), and contrast of thick and thin strokes. ω has a wavy base, and has lost its middle stroke. μ has a shallow bow. á is angular and its right diagonal stroke is extended, so as to contact the following letter. δ rests on a long baseline. The bowl of φ has an elliptical shape. There is some decorative tendency, through a few blobs, curls and hooks which furnish the extremities of some strokes, e.g. ϗ κ, τ δ. For such a hand a date within the third century may not be far off the mark. I would place it in affinity with the hand displayed in *GLH* 20a, which is probably written in the early third century.

No particular critical and lectional signs are in evidence. Punctuation is marked with consistency: middle stops in ll.10 and 17, along with paragraphos in the latter case, indicate strong punctuation (another paragraphos could have been lost in the gap below l.10, and middle point in l.21 due to abrasion). A comma is visible in l.15. Elision is not effected in l.5 (γϵ). Judging from ink and letter shape, the scribe corrected his blunder by

inserting a smaller  $\nu$  above  $\iota$  in l.9. A faint short dash of unknown function is discernible in the left-hand side margin, c.1 cm. before l.3

The fragments reveal no tendency to depart from the tradition of the medieval manuscripts. They offer no textual novelty, and as expected they do not show consistent support for a single manuscript or group.

Sections 24 and 25 are represented in no other papyrus previously published. For the two other ancient manuscripts bearing the text of *Pro Megalopolitis*, see above, no.7.

## Fr.1

	-2-]αντε[.]τ[	# 24	απ]αντε[ε]τ[ουθ οτι
	ταμενδ.[		τα μεν δι[καιο παν
	τεσεανκαι[		τεσεανκαι μη βου
	λωνταιμεχ[		λωνται μεχ[ρι του
5	.εαισχ.νο[		γε αισχ.νο[νται μη
	πραττ[.].[.]ο.[		πραττ[ει]ν[τ]οι[ε] δ α
	δικο[.].[.].[.]		δικο[ι]ε ε[να]ντ[ι]ουν
	.αιφαν[.].[		ται φαν[ε]ρω[ε] αλλωε
	.].και\ν/τιν.[		τ]ε και \ν/ τινε[ε] βλαπτων
10	ται κα[		ται κα[ι τουτο
	[	Fr.2	[
	]....		]....
	].[-2-]...		].[-2-]ν αρ[χην ου
	εαν παντω[		εαν παντω[ν των
15	κακων, ομ.[		κακων, το μη [θε
	λειντα.ικαιο[		λειν τα δικαιο [πρατ
	τειναπ.ωε [.]	#25	τειν απλωε [ι]ν[α τοι
	νυνμη[.].[		νυν μη [τ]οι[ε] εμπο
	δωνγενητ[		δων γενητ[αι τω θη



20	βαιουγεν[	βαιουc γεν[εcθαι μι
	κ.[.]...αc.[	κρ[ο]υc τας μ[εν θεcπι
	αcκαιτ[	αc και τ[ον ορχομε
	ν[	ν[ον
	.[	.[
	. . . . .	. . . . .

2 .[, lower part of a vertical. 3 .[, foot of a vertical. 5 .ε, bottom trace and high horizontal. χ., top of an oblique descending leftwards. 6 [..], speck of ink. ο., spot of ink, not actually suggestive of the expected ι. 7 [.].., bottom left curve followed by specks of ink on the same vertical. [.].., two successive specks of ink, perhaps stray-ink. 8 .α, part of high horizontal. [.].., scattered specks of ink. 9 .], slightly curved foot of a letter. ν., trace of ink from the base of a letter. 12 ..., three traces of ink from the bottom of letters, variously assignable. 13 ]., a tiny speck of ink. ]...[, from the third letter the upper round part and the foot of a long vertical has survived, which suggest ρ. Before that some scattered specks of ink are visible, which could belong to the expected ν and α. 15 ν., part from the two sides from a long horizontal. μ., lower part of a vertical. 16 .ι, bottom sharp edge of an acute angle, whose degree of sloping suggests mostly δ. 17 π., foot of an oblique ascending rightwards. [.], part of a vertical. 18 [.].., traces which could form a curve, followed by traces from a vertical. 20 κ., foot of a long vertical and speck of ink on its top right. [.]..., foot of a long vertical, followed by two specks of ink and the foot of a slightly diagonal stroke. c., left-hand side apex compatible with ν or μ. 24 .[, faint trace of ink.

4 Spacing favours του (τού) S rather than τούτου FAY, the latter apparently a corrupted reading (cf. Dem.1.7.5).

6-7 αδικῶ[ι]c: ita SA: ἀδικοῦcιν FY. The two variants yield identical sense. The participle is encountered more frequently in the demosthenic corpus.

9 κᾶν codd. edd.; ν *supra lineam* ipsa manu corr. και.

11 Calculations concerning the assigning of letters to ll.11-14 show that spacing could allow τὸ post τοῦτο: ita FAY<sup>1</sup>: om. SYcorr.O edd. In that case, the papyrus would offer an inferior reading.

13 τὴν ἀρχήν A: τὴν om. codd. plerique edd. In terms of space the papyrus probably offered the correct reading along with the majority of manuscripts.

14 ἀπαντω[ν: ita A: πάντων cett. edd. The strengthened form possibly for the sake of euphony.

19 Spacing seems to favour τῷ ante Θηβαίους: ita SAY corr. edd.: τῷ τοῦς Y<sup>1</sup>: τὸ τοῦς F.

## SHORT ASSESSMENT OF THE TEXT COVERED IN THE PAPYRI 4-8

Given the limited portion of text preserved, it is apparently impossible to draw any concrete conclusions regarding the textual features of these pieces. Only some remarks could be offered relevant to the following topics:

- (i) *Unique Readings.*
- (ii) *Agreements with Papyri Previously Published.*
- (iii) *Agreements and Disagreements with Codices.*
- (iv) *Agreements and Disagreements with the Indirect Tradition.*
- (v) *Confirmation of Modern Conjectures.*

When readings of the papyri are given in square brackets, it means that the reading is deduced from the space, not from any visible trace. ‘Insecure’ readings due to mutilation of papyrus, or lost and not inferred from space have not been taken into account.

- (i) *Unique Readings:* The five demosthenic papyri offer only three unique readings, of which one confirms a modern conjecture:  $\nu\upsilon\lambda\gamma$  επ αυτον εκ[θρους in 7.10 with Butcher. The other two would at least merit reference, but they seem to offer inferior readings to the ones accepted: omission of δη in 6.ii.2 and παρασκευασαμενους in 6.ii.7-8, instead of παρεσκευασμενους.
- (ii) *Agreements with Papyri Previously Published:* Only the text of two pieces (4 and 7) overlaps that of previously published papyri. It is interesting that out of five instances of textual overlapping, the papyri agree in four cases, namely 4.Fr.3.4: την [ειρωνειαν with both P.Sorb.I 6.23 and P.Oxy.LXII 4314.Fr.5.i.2 against indirect tradition, 7.1-2: και πραττε[ιν] \α/ει and 8: ενχειρειν with P.Berol. 13274,4-5 and 14-5 against part of the medieval tradition in the former case and a modern conjecture in the latter. 7.5: και τοιουτοc likely offers the same reading with P.Berol.13274,9-10 against part of the medieval tradition, S included. A disagreement very likely occurs between 4.Fr.4.2: [εωc] with P.Oxy.XV 1810,15: τέωc. The sample is too small to afford any conclusions, however we cannot exclude the possibility that the agreement might perhaps hint at the existence of a somehow ‘standardised’ text in Egypt, presumably product of the Alexandrian scholarship.



- (iii) *Agreements and Disagreements with Codices*: In places where the medieval tradition is divided, the new texts predictably do not side systematically with any particular family or manuscript. More specifically, the medieval tradition appears divided in nineteen instances within the text covered in our papyri. Of these, the papyri side fourteen times with S (and often along with other codices) -the oldest and generally acclaimed best medieval manuscript of Demosthenes- against part or the whole of medieval codices, and five with readings of other manuscripts. Worth mentioning are the following cases: 4.Fr.4.8: [καταλυν] with S against κωλύων cett.; 5.Fr.1.1: π]ρ οβάλλει with SL<sup>1</sup> against προβάλλεται FAY; Fr.2.3: αναβαλλη]θε with FY against ἐάχητε SL; 6.i.9-10: ετεροc μεν with Y against ἕτεροc (without μέν) cett.; 7.1-2: και πραττε[ιν] \α/ει with SA against ἀεὶ καὶ πράττειν FY; 5: καὶ τοι ουτοc with FAY against τοιοῦτοc (without καί) cett.; 8.4: [του] with S against τουτου FAY; 6-7: α]δικο[ι]c with SA against ἀδικοῦειν FY; 14: απαντω[ν] with A against πάντων cett. The complexity of the so called ‘eclectic character’ of the papyri, discussed in detail in Collomp, 1929, pp.255-287, should be an indication that the papyri were older than the divisions of the families, which, provided that the latest demosthenic ancient manuscripts placed in the fifth/sixth century A.D., still display similar ‘eclectic’ characteristics, e.g. P.Berol.13274 and P.Ryl.58 (Hausmann, 1921, x and xxi respectively), could perhaps have taken place in the case of demosthenic manuscripts not earlier than in the sixth century. One may entertain the idea that the division of the families of demosthenic manuscripts may be related to the transition to minuscule. The earliest dated minuscule manuscript remains the Upsensky Gospels, copied in 835 by Nicolaos Studites, see Allen, 1920, pp.1-12. This conjecture, if it has any chance of holding some truth, is of course open to investigation, which at present would be out of the scope of this thesis. Moreover, the agreement of the same papyrus with readings attested in different families and manuscripts could trace the antiquity of their tradition. The copyists in antiquity certainly had the opportunity of multiple collations of their text, and if they did not copy mechanically, they could have inserted various readings from the different manuscripts at their disposal.
- (iv) *Agreements and Disagreements with the Indirect Tradition*: Interestingly but not unusually (cf. for instance P.Oxy.XLVIII, pp.27-8), the papyri do not share any readings with the Indirect Tradition, wherever provided. Four antique readings (of

the I B.C.) attested in genuine or assigned works of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, recurring in no medieval manuscript, do not find support in these pieces either: 4.Fr.3.4; 6.ii.9, 10-11 and 11. The omission, however, of the citation of line 4.Fr.4.2 in the late Suda (tenth century) s.v. τέως, could be regarded as agreement with the reading offered in our piece. A mere conjecture regarding this frequently observed disagreement between both ancient and medieval manuscripts with indirect tradition would be that text of classical authors was squeezed in the works of later authors via anthologies, which would not always have offered an accurate text; for the antiquity of some anthologies, compiled already in the Ptolemaic period, see Maehler, 1967, pp.70-71, and the bibliography cited there, especially in note 21. Needless to say, however, that this idea requires further investigation.

(v) *Confirmation of Modern Conjectures*: Five out of six modern conjectures in our pieces are not confirmed: 4.Fr.3.4, 5, Fr.4.8, Fr.5.3; 6.ii.5-6; 7.8, with the only exception of 7.10, offered by Butcher.

To sum up the assessment of these five demosthenic papyri, I would offer Grenfell's and Hunt's conclusions uttered already in 1922 in the introduction of P.Oxy.XV 1810, whose gist does not need to be modified: 'the text is on the whole a good one of the usual 'eclectic' kind.....Peculiar variants are unimportant, and there is no tendency to depart from the tradition of the manuscripts. Of these S, by common consent the best manuscript, is often supported, in several places against all other testimony....On the other hand, agreements with the readings of other manuscripts against S are not uncommon'.



### III. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

#### 9

#### PROSE TEXT

[27 3B.39/c (1-3)a]

10.7 x 6.7 cm.

late II - early III A.D.

Plates IV.-VI.

Scrap from a papyrus roll preserving along the fibres the remains from two columns of an unidentified prose text. The intercolumnium is c.2 cm. About 12 letters are accommodated per line which amounts to c.4.2 cm., and suggest a rather short column-width (see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.57-59, and Johnson, 1992, p.425). On the back and across the lines are preserved a few letters written in a cursive hand, apparently belonging to a document. Apart from the scattered letters, the only word that is perhaps discernible is ἐβάρταρα τ?

This fragment was thought to belong to the same papyrus roll as the fragment bearing the inventory number 27 3B.39/c (1-3)a (no.6). A comparison of the two scripts shows that these fragments were written by a different hand in the trendy style of the period. The hand of this piece is larger and not as neat and formal as the one in the demosthenic papyrus. Some individual letters also differ conspicuously. The hand is almost upright, of medium size and meets all the typical features of the Severe Style. Bilinearity is interrupted by τ and ρ. ω is round and its middle stroke has been replaced by a blob. α shows both the round and the angular form. τ in l.i.2 is written in one movement without lifting the pen, probably under cursive influence. Slight decoration by means of blobs and curls. The initial letters of the line are slightly enlarged. Lack of extensive ornamentation and shading would place the piece in close affinity with no.6 and the parallel documents drawn for its dating. Therefore, it could be also assigned in the late II-early III century.

Paragraphos inserted below l.i.1 probably indicated punctuation. No other lectional or critical signs are preserved. Elision is not effected in l.i.2.



	col.i	col.ii
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	..?α .. [..]. [..]. .	κ[- 11 -
	οδεεμοcπατηρ	τωνεινα[- 5 -
	- 11 -].	ητω.[.?.]κε.[- 4 -
	- 1 1 -]ε	των.[- 8 -
5	. . . . .	.. [- 9 -
		.].
		. . . . .

col.i:

1 ..?α, bottom half of two verticals accepting π, τι or γι. α..., lower part of a vertical violating bilinearity which well fits ρ, followed by low curved right-hand side angle of a letter which could belong to α, then foot of a short vertical. ]., foot of two letters, open to many possibilities; the second could be either a serif facing left at the end of a vertical or part of an oblique ascending rightwards. ]., ο, ω, ρ or θ, followed by η or ν. 3 ]., extension at the end of the line of the cross-stroke of ε (better) or the downward oblique of α or the cap of c.

col.ii:

3 ω., speck of ink from the bottom of a letter; it could be part of ι. In the gap after it a narrow letter could have been lost. .κ, middle part of a vertical. ε[, top of a letter, open to many possibilities, e.g. δ, μ, ν, η, ι, υ. 4 ν., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. 5 ...[, my impression is that the traces belong to three letters; the high horizontal could perhaps belong to γ or even τ, the ensuing letter resembles ε which lost its cross-stroke, followed by a low trace of ink, accepting many possibilities. 6 .].[, a tiny speck of ink.

	col.i	col.ii
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	παρρα [..]. [..]. .	κ[- 11 -
	ό δέ έμòc πατήρ	των εἶνα[ι- 4 -
	11 1	ητω.[.?.]κε.[3- 4
		των.[- 8 -

5

. . . . .

...[-9-  
].[  
. . . . .

col.i:

2 ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς πατήρ occurs in Achilleus Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, 3.6, but the rest of the traces does not match. It is noteworthy that in the whole *TLG* (E version) this common phrase recurs with elision only twice: in Libanius, *Decl.*6 (*Orestis Defensio*) 2.7.1 (ed.Foerster, vol.v) and Galenus, *De alimentorum facultatibus* 6.552.3 (*CMG* vol.v 4.2, p.281).

col.ii:

3 A conjectural articulation: τῶι? [ο]ῖ κεῖ|ωι.

POETIC TEXT (?)

88/ 161 (b) + (c) Back6.4 x 3.1 cm.plate II - early III.  
Plate IX.

On the back of the first fragment of no.5 along the fibres are preserved the beginnings of four lines of un identified text, preceded by a generous left-hand side margin amounting to at least 2.7 cm. The scribe probably renewed the ink in his pen before writing the first line, where ink appears watery. The interesting aspect of this small fragment is that, as far as one can tell, lines 3 and 4 seem to scan following the pattern of the iambic trimeter. The remains of line 2 do not allow much speculation, while line 1 appears unmetrical, but could function as an introduction to a poetic quotation. Although the option of a mere coincidence cannot be excluded, one could certainly entertain the aforementioned possibility. The paragraphus above l.4 certainly supports the option of a literary text, although use of paragraphi is not unknown in documents (for the various functions of paragraphus, both in literary and documentary texts, see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.8). The text is written in an informal rapid hand with predominant cursive features. β, however retains its common non-cursive form, and τ, ο, υ in l.3 are written more slowly. The hand may be assigned not earlier than the end of the second century A.D. It is difficult to name parallels for this hand, having so little text at our disposal. It appears though comparable to the hand displayed in *PGB* 26b, dated to 185 A.D.

. . . . .	. . . . .
ωσειε.[	ώσει έφ[
ταc...[	ταc...[
καιτον.[	καί τόν τ[
—αβουλι.[	—άβουλια[
	. . . . .



1 ε.[, stem of a long letter, suggestive of φ or ψ. 2 c...[, small traces which should belong to three letters; firstly top of a letter followed by apex prolonged right-and downwards which along with the ensuing upright could form a ν. Finally, two small specks of ink could be part of the same letter. 3 ν.[, probably τ but π cannot also be excluded. 4 ι.[, low curve, compatible with α.

1 ὤκει: it could be read as ὤκει, ὤκ ει, ὤκ ει̂, even ὤκει (third per. sing. fut., or second Per. sing. Med. Fut. of ὤθέω). ὤκει or ὤκ ει is attested in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, but not in Menander; additionally in Amphis (*PCG* Fr.30,9) and Epicharmus (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in papyris reperta*, Fr.83,1). Finally, a fragment of Anaxandrides (*PCG* Fr.60,2) reads ὤκ ει̂.

An option could be the restoration of ἔφ[η.

4 A form of the word ἀβουλία could in all probability be supplied. It is interesting that the word occurs in four dramatic poets whose works enjoyed popularity in Roman Egypt: Aeschylus (*Septem* 750), Sophocles (*Antigone* 1242, and *Electra* 398, 429), Euripides (*Medea* 882, *TGF* Suppl. Snell Fr.1077,3, and *Antiope* Fr.48,105 Kambitsis) and twice in Menander (in Sandbach, *Fragmenta longiora apud alios auctores servata*, Fr.714.9, and in Jaekel, *Sententiae e codicibus Byzantinis: Menandri sententiae*, 1.17). Also in *Tragica Adespota* Fr.484. ἀβουλία turns up only once in a document, namely in P.Oxy.III 474,37 (184 ? A.D.), a circular to officials.

DICTYS CRETENSIS, *BELLUM TROIANUM* II 29-30

27 3B.39/B(1-3)c

7.3 x 13.6 cm

II A.D.

Plates V.-VI.

Fragment from a papyrus roll showing upper part of a column with top, possibly complete, and right-hand side margin, measuring 2.8 and c.1.5 cm. respectively. Across the fibres of the papyrus are preserved in black ink almost three quarters of thirteen lines and few letters from a fourteenth one of the *Ephemeris belli Troiani*<sup>8</sup>, that is the alleged diary of Dictys Cretensis from the Trojan War. On average, 4-5 letters are estimated to be missing from the beginning of each line, thus the original column-width is calculated to be c.7.5 cm, a figure which falls well within the dimensions offered by Kenyon as normal width for a well-written papyrus (Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.56f.). A few narrow holes mar the surface of the papyrus along two vertical creases and a central horizontal one. On the back and along the fibres are preserved eleven lines of a document, executed in a highly abbreviated and ligatured cursive hand, which does not seem much distant chronologically from the one on the front. Although some letters appear almost identical on the two sides of the papyrus (e.g. some α, ε, η, π, ρ, υ), the assigning of both texts to the same hand would be too risky. For 'famous' examples of literary texts written on the back of documents, and the difficulty in speculating on their origins, see Clarysse, 1983, pp.45-6; see also the study by Lama, 1991, pp.55-120.

The text of the papyrus is written in a sure, rapid, medium-sized (letter-height of about 3 mm.) and well-spaced hand, with a slight slant towards the right. The consistent presence, almost 'exaggeration', of curves (apparent even in the shape of some ι) and of long tails, normally with curved foot reaching the following line, reveals an experienced scribe who aims at a certain style. The scribe slips easily into ligature (e.g. αι, ει, αρ), and letters frequently touch each other, in particular within the same word. Cursive influence is obvious in some forms, for instance, some α towards the end of the lines, the

<sup>8</sup> Dictys' work represents along with the meager fragments from the so-called Royal Diaries of Alexander the Great (*FGrHist* 117) the genre of Ephemerides in the Greek literature. In the Latin one Caesar's *Commentarii* have also the character of Ephemerides (see *Plut. Caesar*, 22).



curved υ, the sometimes left open ο, the almost round c, the μ with curved legs and deep bow. The right hasta of η descends curved from its cross-bar without surpassing it. α keeps frequently its angular shape; ε is large and executed in two parts, starting either from the bottom by forming half letter including the middle stroke in a single movement and then adding the upper part (e.g. l.1), or by starting from the top and following a parallel execution (e.g. l.2). χ, ω and δ are broad letters, the latter resting on a long baseline. β is written without lifting the pen with squashed upper part. Bilinearity is infringed only by ρ, φ, some ι, and once by the unique forked υ (l.7). The hand shows some affinities with the one displayed in Roberts, *GLH* 15a, dated to 117 A.D., although some individual letters vary. The general impression is also similar to the hand of *Gnomon of Idios Logos* in BGU 1210 (plate in Norsa, *Scrittura Letteraria* 12b), dated to 150-161 A.D., while within the same tradition could be placed the hand in Norsa, *op.cit.*, 12a, dated to 85 A.D. In all likelihood, our piece could be assigned within the second century, perhaps in the first half of it; this brings it even closer to the traditional reference to the reign of Nero (66 A.D.)<sup>9</sup> than the two other extant papyri of Dictys, namely P.Tebt.II 268 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 338), written on the back of some revenue returns of 206 A.D. (P.Tebt.II 340), and thus dated to the early III century A.D., and P.Oxy.XXXI 2539, assigned to the II/III century.

The scribe marked an angular rough breathing on the first vowel of the diphthong in l.9 (form 2, see Turner *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.11), whose base is extended over the initial letter of the ensuing word, while he missed it in l.3 (ῥμepōν). Punctuation in the form of a high short stroke is employed three times as strong punctuation (ll.1,9,12), and once (second instance in l.1) superfluously as a comma. The scribe failed to mark iota adscript in l.1. No errors or corrections are in evidence. Almost in the centre of the top margin is placed a χ of the same size as those in the text but in fainter ink and perhaps by different hand. The possibility of column-number (= 600) should, I think, definitely be excluded. χ appears commonly as a siglum in the papyri, whose various functions are described in McNamee, 1982, pp.19ff. and Table F, and could be summarised as follows: it is employed either as a reference mark directing the reader to a commentary, or as an

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<sup>9</sup> This is the alleged date (13<sup>th</sup> year of Nero), mentioned in the *Prologus* of the *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, when Dictys' tomb at Cnossos was opened, the tablets of his diaries were discovered and transliterated by order of the emperor himself.



indication for something notable. The best I could think of is that  $\chi$  may be related to the chapter break after  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ , which may not have been marked by other means.

The preserved lines of this piece from Dictys' work relate the familiar events from approximately *Il.*1.33-53, namely Chryses' withdrawal from the Greek campsite and the fatal plague that fell upon the Achaeans afterwards. Expectedly, there is no reference to Chryses' prayer to his patron god Apollo asking for revenge or to the latter's violent reaction against the Achaeans which actually caused the disease, since the focaliser of this narrative (for the term see De Jong, 1987, pp.31ff) is 'Dictys', an Achaean soldier and supposed companion of Idomeneus at Troy. Apparently, he could not have been aware of Chryses' invocation to Apollo nor of the latter's reaction by shooting arrows to the Greek camp. Well known from the Latin adaptation by a certain Septimius, to be dated most likely within the fourth century A.D., however a dating in the second/third century cannot be totally excluded,<sup>10</sup> is some rationalistic attitude of 'Dictys' towards the divine (see also *I.*19 in the Latin text for the reasons of the plague at Aulis), detected also in the *de excidio Troiae Historia* by Dares the Phrygian, and a Homeric hypothesis 'with no gods' published by O' Hara, 1984, pp.1-9. In the original Greek text this attitude appears milder, if extant at all. It can be traced in *Il.*8-9, but it is not as evident as in the Latin text *Il.*30.9-19. Apart from a rationalistic attitude, these lines in our text may indicate the composer's wish to fill a logical gap within the Homeric narrative. People -probably a generalisation prompted by Achilles' assertion (*Il.*1.65)- arrived themselves at the conclusion ( $\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\iota\tau\alpha\nu$ ) that the plague was Apollo's means of punishment, for the commonest reason of ritual errors or an old wrath, since nothing in the *Iliad* explains the source of people's certainty on this matter, especially when it is not connected with Chryses' mistreatment. Thus, the time reference in *Il.*3-4 would not be simply transitional, or even pedantic. Some time may have reasonably elapsed between the 'string' of the related events, and presumably the effect of the disease upon the Achaeans could not have been made visible immediately after Chryses' departure as to allow any connections. Although not mentioned in the text, people may have thought of Apollo in the first place, because he was normally considered responsible for sudden death for men, as his sister, Artemis, for women, often in childbirth (cf. for instance, *Il.*24.604ff. and *Od.*11.171-3). Finally, 'Dictys' offers the interesting contrast between

<sup>10</sup> The most recent discussion on the dating of the Latin text is found in Merkle, 1989, pp.86, 263-283.

the many common Achaeans who died from the plague, and their kings of whom nobody even fell ill.

As far as style is concerned, the text of our piece appears consistent with the two previously published papyri of Dictys. More specifically, it consists of single sentences which are linked by common connective particles, namely καί (ll.3,9,11), δέ (l.13) with adversative colour (λαῶν-βασιλέων) perhaps preceded by μέν in l.10, οὔτε ... οὔτε/οὐδέ (ll.13-4) preceded by οὐδεὶς for strong negation, and the transitional μέν οὖν (l.1, see Denniston, <sup>2</sup>1950, pp.472-3). Hiatus is tolerated in ll.3,8,9 and 13. The finite verbs are in historic present,<sup>11</sup> with only one certain exception in the extant part ἐνόμικον in ll.8-9, and perhaps ἐνόχηεν and διεφθόρη in ll.13-4. No subordinate clauses are in evidence. Articular infinitive may have been employed in l.5, and participles of various usage, sometimes instead of subordinate clauses, often occur: genitive absolute of time (ἡμερῶν διαγε[νο]μένων) in ll.3-4, a circumstantial participle (ἄ[τιμ]αθής) to express both time and cause in ll.1-2, and attributive participle (ἐμπερούσης) to νόκου in l.7. Two instances of 'mild' hyperbaton are evident at the end of sentence or kolon: ἡμερῶν ..... ὀλίγων, πολλῶν..... [θυσιῶ]ν. Palm, 1955, 131ff., notices the far more frequent occurrence of hyperbaton in Hellenistic prose than before. Litotes may occur in l.5 (see n.1) to avoid repetition of the adjective ὀλίγων. The antithesis between λαοί and βασιλεῖς has been already observed. Assonance may have been aimed at in l.7 with the repetition of the syllable κου to place stress upon the fact of the plague. Although the syntax is not complicated, it is interesting that the word-order appears fairly symmetrical. The vocabulary is formal and carefully chosen; μῆνιν, νόκου and λαοί are retained from the Homeric text; the phrase ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων with a numeral or a quantitative adjective, as well as the verb ἐμφοροῦμαι with genitive come into vogue in later Greek, from the first century A.D. and the first century B.C. respectively, the latter attested once in the document P.Lips.119.ii.6 of the III century A.D.

A comparison between the Greek original and the Latin 'translation' confirms Septimius' claim in his letter to Rufinus (*Epistula*, ll.16-7) that he wished to make a free translation into Latin during his spare time, feeling that he had no special talent (*'Latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio, quam ut otiosi animi desidiā discuteremus'*). As has already been observed by the editors of P.Tebt.II 268 and Merkle, 1989, pp.113ff.,

<sup>11</sup> For modern approaches on this peculiar tense, see Barri, 1978, pp.43-56.



for the other two extant papyri of Dictys, the Latin text for the most part represents its original faithfully, despite several alterations, omissions and additions. As regards our piece, a replacement of a 'difficult' Greek expression in l.5 by a simple, general phrase is recognised, as well as much verbiage in the Latin version regarding the effect of the plague upon the people. Apparently Septimius, not satisfied by the plain and short wording of the Greek text, added some commonplace details to intensify and 'embellish' this point of the narrative. Frequently in the Latin text the plain and tight syntax of the Greek is not imitated: subordinate clauses are employed instead of participles or of single sentences, the latter being once replaced by an ablative absolute in the Latin text (ll.9-11 - II 30.4-5). A detailed account of the differences between the Greek and the Latin text is offered in the commentary below.

The Latin text is cited by book, chapter and line after the Teubner edition of W.Eisenhut (Leipzig <sup>2</sup>1973). Unfortunately, the related narratives in Ioannes Malalas, Ioannes of Antioch, Georgius Kedrenos and the anonymous Ἐκλογὴ Ἱστοριῶν (publ. by Cramer, 1839, pp.165-230) which are known to have borrowed from Dictys (see the detailed comparison in Griffin, 1907, pp.23ff. and especially 34ff.), are too compressed to afford us any parallels, as they do for P.Tebt.II 268. Kedrenus is actually the only one who briefly includes in his history the plague in the Achaean army (PG 121.256D). For comparative purposes concerning the suggested supplements and the wording of our piece are quoted in the commentary some relative Homeric: two ancient Homeric hypothesis, namely P.Achm.2 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1159) and P.Bonon.1.6 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1157, reed. by Montanari, 1982, pp.273-284), both of the III-IV A.D.,<sup>12</sup> and the medieval Hyp.II, all to the first book of *Iliad*; scholia minora preserved in P.Oslo.II 12 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1160), P.Berol.5014v (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1158), P.Achm.2, P.Oxy.XXIV 2405 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1162), and the sch<sup>D</sup> from the proekdosis of Van Thiel; paraphrases to the opening lines of *Iliad* composed by Plato.*Rep.*III 393d and Aristides (Spengel, *Rhet.Gr.*II 510), the 'elaborate retelling' of *Il.*1-21 preserved in the tablets T.Bodl.Gk.Inscript.3019 1b+4a (ed. Parsons, 1970, pp.135-141), the text of Tab. Iliaca Paris. E (Jahn- Michaelis, 1873, pp.65f.), along with four prose paraphrases of the *Iliad* compiled by Byzantine scholars, the first quoted after Bekker, 1827, Appendix I, and the rest after the partial edition by Ludwich, 1885, 490ff.:

<sup>12</sup> The other two extant ancient Homeric hypothesis to *Iliad* 1 are not quoted, because P.Oxy.LVI 3829 (later II A.D.) offers the same text as P.Achm.2. and P.Berol.17598 (ed. by Luppe and Poethke, 1998, pp.214-5) of the I B.C. does not afford any parallels to our text.



Par.P by Michael Psellos (known as Bekker Paraphrase), Par.M by Manuel Moschopoulos, Par.G by Theodorus of Gaza, who reworked the Moschopoulos paraphrase, and finally Par.A, the interlinear paraphrase contained in Codex Venetus Graec.454.

	χ		χ
	]αυτω χρυσημενουνα	#II.30	]αυτω χρυσης μεν ουν α
	]cθειαπερχεταιπρος		]αcθεις απερχεται προς
	]ονκαιημερωνδιαγε		]ον και ημερων διαγε
	]ενωολιγωνειτεδια		]ενων ολιγων ειτε δια
5	]λλωνεμφορηθηναι		]λλων εμφορηθηναι
	]νειτεδιαμηνιντινα		]ν ειτε δια μηνιν τινα
	]ννοκουεμπεκουσης		]ν νοκου εμπεκουσης
	]πολλωνααιτιονενο		]πολλωνα αιτιον ενο
	]οιλαοιειναι καιαρχε		]οι λαοι ειναι και αρχε
10	]τοκακοναποτων		]το κακον απο των
	]ποδωνκαιδιαφθει		]αποδων και διαφθει
	]τωνλαωνπολλοιβα		]των λαων πολλοι βα
	]δεουδεικουτεε....		]δε ουδεις ουτε ε....
	]δ..[±7]..[±5		]εδ.. [±7]..[±5
	. . . . .		. . . . .

2 ], short line, almost horizontal at mid-letter-height, compatible more with the extension of the right oblique of α than of the middle stroke of ε. 5 ], speck of ink, assignable to many letters. 10 ].τ, the extension of τ leftwards may distort the shape of the first visible letter of the line, which I think should be either c or v, of which we see part of the oblique and the right-hand side vertical. 11 ].π, high speck of ink just below the left-hand side extension of the horizontal of π, suggestive of the extension of α. 13 ε...., tiny traces from the top of one or two letters, followed by a the top of a semi-circle and of a vertical. 14 ], part of a middle horizontal and of a high slightly curved line, which, if projected, would form an acute angle, suits well ε. δ.., speck from the top of a narrow letter, perhaps ι, followed by left-hand upper part of a letter, probably of ε rather

than c. ]..[, right hand side oblique slightly curved compatible with μ, α, λ, followed by left-hand semi-circle, suggestive of ο, φ, ρ and less likely ω or c.

1 αυτω: scilicet Ἀγαμέμνονι, according to the Latin text: *ceterum Achilles in ore omnium ipsumque et Menelaum contumeliis lacerabat*. Presumably, the context of our piece is Agamemnon's decision not to return Chryseis to her father, and his abusive behaviour towards the latter that prompted Agamemnon's taunting by the whole Achaean leaders, among whom the last and more fierce reaction was that of Achilles.

1-2 α[τιμ]αcθειc would make an attractive reading and is the closest I could think to the Latin text: *iniuriam perpressus ab Agamemnone*, cf. *Il.*1.11-12: οὐνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμαcen ἀρητῆρα Ἀτρείδης. Less probable would be α[χθ]εcθειc, as regards space and the thickness and position of the middle stroke of the assumed ε. The same syntax with circumstantial participle is also offered in P.Bonon.6: απο]π ε μπτειc (l. αποπεμφθειc) υπο τ[ου Α]γαμεμνονος, and Hyp.II: ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεωc ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀποδιωχθείc<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also sch<sup>D</sup>, P.Oslo II 12.2.10, P.Berol.5014v.17, P.Achm.2, and the four byzantine paraphrases ad 1.11, which offer ἀτίμωc or ἄτιμοc followed by a verb to denote Agamemnon's behaviour towards Chryses.

απερχεται: the present tense has not been preserved in the Latin text which offers the perfect *discessit*. The same Greek verb in the imperfect is employed for Chryses' departure from the Greek campus, in the paraphrases of Plato (*Rep.*III.393d) and Aristeides (ed. Spengel, *Rhet.gr.*II, p.510), and in the aorist in Par.M and Par.G.

3 ]ov: δομ]ov or οικ]ov would correspond to the Latin *domum*. Owing to the perspective of this narrative, namely that of an Achean soldier, which is completely different from that of the *Iliad*, Chryses' withdrawal to the shore in the Homeric text would not have been known to the Achaean campsite, cf. *Il.*1.34: βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῆνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding Hyp.II the majority readings are quoted. At this point, are also reported the following variants in Ludwich, 1900, pp.8-9: διωχθείc, ἀποδιενεχθείc, ἀποπεμφθείc, ἀνιαθείc.



3-4 A tempting restoration would be διαγεῖ<sup>4</sup>[νομ]ενων, cf. P.Tebt.II 268,18 and perhaps 2, which could be reconsidered. The very same participle as genitive absolute expressing elapsing of time is attested in a number of later authors, e.g. Plutarch, Longus, Aristeides, Xenophon, Origen and Porphyry, as well as in the New Testament. I would not favour διαγεῖ<sup>4</sup>[γενημ]ενων, which to the best of my knowledge, is not attested in this phrase, and would be too long. In the Latin text the absolute construction is 'resolved' to a time clause: *(ubi) neque multi fluxerant dies*.

5 το μη πολλων would make a plausible restoration.

6 ]ν: for the restoration of this line I would suggest θυσιων or ευχων or αγαθων, cf. *Il.*1.65 and 93: εἴ τὰρ ὃ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἡδ' ἐκατόμβης, and P.Oxy.XXIV 2405, containing scholia minora on this line, as well as sch<sup>D</sup> and the four byzantine paraphrases ad loc., which gloss εὐχολῆς and ἐκατόμβης as εὐχῆς (sch<sup>D</sup> + δεήσεως) and (μεγάλης Par.P/ τελείας sch<sup>D</sup> Par.A) θυσίας respectively. The Latin text failed to translate this part accurately, perhaps the verb ἐμφοροῦμαι provided difficulties for the translator, who simply offered *alione casu*.

7 ]ν: the best I can come up with for the beginning of the line is an attribute for μῆνιν, like κακήν, ολοήν (cf. *Od.*3.135) or βαρείαν, παλαιάν, χρονίαν, ολεθρίαν, the last four, however, may be too long for the space available. The Latin text reads simply *ira Apollinis*, while the attribute *gravissimus* refers to *morbis* and is absent from the Greek text. Additionally, the Latin adaptation attributes the wrath to Apollo earlier than its prototype does, which in the Greek text at this point Apollo is not introduced: δια μνηνινα.

vocou εμπεσουσης: cf. *Il.*1.10: νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν and G. Kedrenus (*PG* 121, 256D): λοιμώδους νόσου ἐνέκηψάσης τῷ στρατῷ. Similar structure but as genitive absolute recurs in Hyp.II: λοιμοῦ γενομένου<sup>14</sup> and slightly different with transitive verb in Tab.Iliaca Paris.E: του απολλωνος .... λοιμον εμβαλοντος. The Latin text not favouring the participial construction offers a whole clause, supplemented

<sup>14</sup> Variant reading: λοιμοῦ ἐνέκηψαντος, see Ludwich, 1900, p.9.



with self-evident details: *morbus gravissimus exercitum invadit*. The issue of the plague occurs more accurately as λοιμός and not νόκος in the structure of main clause also in P.Achm.2. (διοπερ λοιμος κατεσχευεν τους ελληνας) and P.Bonon.6 (ο δε θεος επακουσας λ[οιμ]ον επεσκηψεν τοις αχαιοις). Scholia minora and paraphrases on *Il*.1.10 normally offer νόκον (with the exception of Par.A which offers ἀρρωστίαν).

8 A tempting restoration would be τον α]πολλωνα, or perhaps θεον α]πολλωνα, while φοιβον α]πολλωνα would be too long. Cf. sch<sup>bT</sup> ad *Il*.1.64: τῶν αἰφνιδίων θανάτων αἴτιόν φασι εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνα.

8-9 ενο|<sup>9</sup>[μικαν] would be a plausible reconstruction. In the Latin adaptation *Il*.8-9 of our piece are not rendered closely. The impersonal construction in a parenthetical clause of the Latin text *uti omnibus videbatur* corresponds to the personal Greek ενο[μικαν] οἱ λαοί, while the rest, that is τον απολλωνα αιτιον ειναι, is implied in the preceding lines.

10 If the first preserved letter can be read as ν, I would suggest αρχε|<sup>10</sup>[ται με]ν / ου]ν for the beginning of the line.

το κακον: cf. *Il*.1.10 (see n.7) and *malo* in the Latin text, *Il*.30.5.

11 τετρ]αποδων can be safely restored at the beginning of the line, cf. *Il*.1.50: οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς, and the Latin translation *a pecoribus*. Τετράποδα for animals occurs frequently in the Homeric Scholia (about 25 matches). Cf. also Thuc.II.50.1, where τὰ τετράποδα are also mentioned in a context of plague. At this point the plain construction of the single sentence of the Greek text has been rendered in a more complicated way into the Latin by means of ablative absolute and gerund as noun: *principio grassandi facto a pecoribus*.

11-12 διαφθει|<sup>12</sup>[ρονται] would be plausibly acceptable. Cf. *Il*.1.10: ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί, and 1.52: αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί. The same verb but as

genitive absolute is employed in Hyp.II: καὶ πολλῶν, ὥς εἰκὸς διαφθειρομένων<sup>15</sup>, while the circumstantial participle κακούμενοι is read in P.Bonon.6. In the paraphrases the verb διαφθείρομαι is employed in T.Bodl.3019.29-30: υφ' ἧς οἱ Ἕλληνες καταπολεμουμένοι διαφθειρόντο. (leg. διεφθ-) and Aristeides, *op.cit.*: πολλοὶ μὲν..... πρὸ ὥρας διεφθάρησαν. The plain ἐφθείροντο is employed in the Par. M and G of l.10. At this point the Latin text slips to verbosity; see II.30.11-15: *dein malo paulatim magis magisque intravescente per homines dispergitur. Tum vero vis magna mortalium corporibus fatigatis pestifera aegritudine infando ad postremum exitio interibat*, of which only the underlined text represents the Greek one. The translation of the Greek λαῶν into *mortalium* is not considered accurate, since the antithesis is not between immortals and mortals, but, as the ensuing lines reveal, between common people, soldiers and their leaders.

13-14 I would reconstruct the lines as follows: βα<sup>12</sup> [κιλεων] δε ουδεις ουτε εγοχη<sup>13</sup> [εν ουτ]ε διεφθαρη, guided by the Latin translation, but changing the order of the two parts of the negation: *sed regum omnino nullus neque mortuus ex hoc malo neque adtemptatus est*. The two traces visible in the rest of l.14 are too meagre to allow reconstruction, perhaps we could restore λο[ιμου corresponding to *morbi* of the Latin text (II.30 17) or to *(ex hoc) morbo* (II.30 16), a variant attested in P (xv century), or λο[ιμω.

If the suggested supplbements have any chance of being correct, the text could be reconstructed and translated as follows:

χ

          ]αυτῶ Χρύσης μὲν οὖν ἄ  
τιμα]εθεῖς ἀπέρχεται πρὸς  
οἶκ]ον καὶ ἡμερῶν διαγε  
νομ]ένων ὀλίγων εἴτε διὰ  
5 τὸ μὴ π]ολλῶν ἐμφορηθῆναι  
θυσιῶ]ν εἴτε διὰ μῆνιν τινα

<sup>15</sup> Variant reading: καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φθειρομένων, see Ludwich. 1900. p.9.

κακῆ]ν νόσου ἐμπεσούσης  
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα αἴτιον ἐνό  
μικαν ]οί λαοὶ εἶναι· καὶ ἄρχε  
10 ται οὐ]γτὸ κακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
τετρ]απόδων καὶ διαφθεί  
ρονται ]τῶν λαῶν πολλοί· βα  
σιλέων ]δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἐνόχη  
κεν οὔτ]ε διε]φθάρη ±3]. [

. . . . .

‘.... him. Chryses, therefore, insulted departs homewards, and after few days have elapsed, when, either because he (Apollo) was not satisfied with many sacrifices (or prayers or goods) or due to a violent (or old or destructive) wrath, for a disease that fell upon (them), people considered Apollo to be responsible; and the evil originated from the animals, and many people passed away. And noone of the kings became sick or died ....’



## HISTORICAL PROSE

27.3B.39/B (1-3)a

12.1 x 12.4 cm.

III A.D.

Plates X.- III.

A brittle fragment of a papyrus roll, written in black ink and preserving parts of two successive columns containing an unidentified prose work. Along the fibres of the papyrus are preserved the last letters of thirteen lines of a column, an intercolumnium which averages c.2 cm., and almost two thirds at the most of fifteen lines of a second column. There is a top margin of 2.1 cm. but no side margins are extant, and the papyrus is broken off at the bottom. Additionally, the piece is badly mutilated by a big hole in the second column, reaching at the top to 1.7 and continuing to the bottom of the piece, interrupted only by the restored 1.12. The papyrus is also worn at other points, e.g. along the three vertical folds. A kollesis is visible within the second column but very close to the intercolumnium. If the few restorations proposed below have any chance of being correct, the original line length may accommodate about 30-32 letters, and be estimated at c.14 cm., that is unusually long for a prose column (see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.56f.), even for a column of a historical work (see Johnson, 1992, pp.425-427), the strongest probability regarding the nature of the text. It is not possible to calculate the column height and the number of lines that occupy it (the fifteen lines occupy 9.3 cm.); an observation could only be made that the number of lines in these two columns does not seem to be uniform, since the first column begins slightly higher than the second. Maas' Law is followed apparently in the second column, that is the beginnings of the lines move progressively leftwards as the column descends. On the back and across the fibres are preserved the faint remnants of a document. Several syllables are discernible, scattered on the piece, among which the following: *Καραπιω*[, *του Διδυμου*, ?] *θειας*, *αρ*<sup>χ</sup>, ?] *α*<sup>ν</sup>*ο*<sup>υ</sup>, *ληγη**ς*. In the last word the letter before the first *η* should be either *ι* or *ρ*, probably suggesting *διήγη**ς* or *χορήγη**ς* respectively.

The text on the front is written in a formal, fairly large hand (letter-height averages 0.4 cm.), a specimen of the 'Severe' or 'Formal Mixed' Style. The letters are

written neatly, separately and slowly, they touch rarely (e.g. ll.i.10, ii.5,7) and there are no ligatures. The handwriting is almost upright with a slight inclination towards the right, and there is hardly an attempt at decoration. Bilinear apart from the long  $\phi$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\rho$ , and some  $\iota$  which protrude below the notional parallels, and the small  $o$ . Although the contrast characteristic in this style between round small and angular broad letters is visible, it appears less stylised and smoother than in *GLH* 19a (II A.D) and 19b (first half of the III A.D.), *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27 and 34 (both assigned to the II A.D.).  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $o$  and  $c$  are not so tiny and narrow, as in the hands mentioned above. Letters to note are:  $\alpha$  is angular and at the end of the line its right oblique is extended in the intercolumnar area;  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  sometimes more curved, sometimes more angular with their cap being a horizontal;  $\kappa$  with the junction of the branches slightly separated from the upright; the large  $\mu$  with the legs upright and the belly curved touching the middle of the letter-height;  $\upsilon$ 's upper part consists of two obliques forming an almost right angle at two-thirds height; the bowl of  $\phi$  is squashed and almost wedge-shaped;  $\omega$  is large and its middle stroke has been diminished to a wave on its almost flat base. Letters sometimes have the tendency to get smaller at the end of the line. I would assign this hand to the third century. Comparable hands can be seen in Seider II 33 (P.Berol.9766) and P.Oxy.XIII 1624 (Plate VI), both assigned to the third century, and *GLH* 21a, a more slanting and flamboyant hand, dated to the early third century A.D. The cursive hand of the back also points to a third-century date, cf. for instance, Seider I 45 (Taf.45), dated to 235 A.D., and I 44 (Taf.44) = *PGB* 37a, dated to 250 A.D.

Apparently, a three-grade punctuation system is in evidence: high-dash (l.ii.3) to mark the period end and the beginning of the direct speech (paragraphos, if employed, could be lost through abrasion); high-stop (l.ii.5 and expectedly l.ii.14) along with paragraphos below the first letter of this line to mark strong pause; middle-stop (l.ii.6) with the effect of a modern comma. No other lectional or critical signs are in evidence. Elision seems to be tacitly effected in l.i.5, while scriptio plena was preferred in ll.i.1 and ii.12. All the instances of hiatus, however, could be got rid of without difficulty by slight alterations of the text.

The subject of the second column of the fragment, the most extensive and intelligible, is a speech ( $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$ , l.3) made by Iphicrates (l.1)-the first letter of the word should, I think, with no hesitation be restored-, the Athenian general, who played an eminent role in the military and political affairs of the Greek World for almost forty



years, having started his career at the operations around Corinth in 393 B.C. and finished it during the Social War (356 B.C.).<sup>16</sup> He had achieved great fame as a competent commander among *cognoscenti*. Among them Polyaeus, a rhetorician and writer of the second century A.D., in his copious treatment *Στρατηγήματα*, recounts sixty-three stratagems employed by Iphicrates, much more than of any other general, Alexander the Great and Caesar included. In 3.9.28 Polyaeus preserves the following δημηγορία of the general:

‘Ἰφικράτης περὶ Κόρινθον Ἀθηναίων ἐστρατήγει πολεμούντων Θηβαίοις. οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα ἠπείγοντο ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὄρων τοὺς πολεμίους πλείονας καὶ ἐπὶ προσφάτῳ τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκη μεγαλοφρονοῦντας οὐ προῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη. ‘ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο ἀνδρείας προήγαγον, ὥστε καταφρονεῖν Βοιωτῶν δύνασθαι. Τῶν δὲ ἐμοῦ κρειπτόνων στρατηγῶν παραλαβὼν τις ὑμᾶς προαγέτω.’ Οὕτως εἶλε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπαύσαντο τῇ παρὰ στρατηγοῦ ἀρετῇ, μὴ συνεξορμῆσαι τοῖς προεξανισταμένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν λογισμῷ κατασχεῖν.’

This fragment of Polyaeus is verbally closely associated with this piece, and actually appears to be an abbreviated version of the content of this column. The evident connection between the two fragments supplies the context of our piece: it refers to the events of 370/369 B.C.,<sup>17</sup> when the Boeotians (cf. perhaps 1.ii.9, Θη.) under the leadership of Epaminondas had invaded Laconia (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.25-32; Diod.15.62-5; Plut.*Ages.*31-32 and *Pelop.*24), and Sparta had appealed successfully to Athens for help (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.33-48). The Athenians responded by sending a force to the Peloponnese under Iphicrates (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.49 and Diod.15.63) He actually achieved little and the Boeotians left the Peloponnese without serious hindrance (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.51-2).

Apart from Polyaeus, no other ancient source preserves a speech made by Iphicrates at this time in an attempt to persuade the Athenians to refrain from fighting. Pausanias (9.14.7) reports briefly the instance of this military expedition, when ‘ὥς ἐπεξιέναι μαχουμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκώλυεν Ἰφικράτης, ὃ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὰς

<sup>16</sup> The most recent study on Iphicrates is published in 1997 by Bianco, who relying mainly on Polyaeus. *Stratagems* tried to reconstruct the historical personality of Iphicrates as rhetor and general.



Θήβας ἀπῆλυνε'. Xenophon has also included this Athenian campaign in his history (*Hell.*6.5.49ff.), but unlike the author of our piece and Polyaeus who both seem to praise Iphicrates' sensible command, Xenophon favours a different view regarding Iphicrates' competence as a general of the army on that occasion (*Hell.*6.5.51-2). He shares the Athenians' attitudes towards their leader, who censured Iphicrates for his delay in Corinth (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν), but eagerly followed and attacked wherever he led the way (προθύμως μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἡγοῖτο, προθύμως δ' εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προάγοι). Xenophon really lays stress on the eagerness of the army to attack, and this aspect is reflected in the piece in l.ii.2, where the word φιλοτιμουμένων is an irresistible restoration.<sup>18</sup> The eagerness of the Athenians under Iphicrates is also mentioned briefly by Diodorus (15.63.2) as the reason for the quick advancing of Iphicrates' army (Ἰφικράτης μὲν οὖν, προθύμους ἔχων τοὺς στρατιώτας, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ σπουδὴν). But like Xenophon he does not refer to the incident preserved in this piece, in his account of the Athenian campaign in 370/69. Either it has been ignored by his primary source in the first place, which in general for the classical period, that is Books 11-16, is considered to be Ephorus, or in his abridged version of Greek History of these years, he himself omitted it. Finally, Cornelius Nepos in his brief Life of Iphicrates (*Iph.*2.5) includes a reference to these events and draws the conclusion that due to Iphicrates, the war machine of Epaminondas stopped outside Sparta and did not burn it to the ground (*Idem subsidio Lacedaemoniis profectus Epaminondae retardavit impetus. Nam nisi eius adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Sparta abscessissent, quam captam incendio delessent*).

The remarkable resemblance between our author and Polyaeus must be explained in one of three ways. Either one of the two writers was copying the other, or they derived their common information from the same source. The hypothesis that our

<sup>17</sup> The correct date of the first Theban invasion to the Peloponnese is offered by Xenophon, while Diodorus' account is out by one year (see Stylianou, 1998, pp.426ff.).

<sup>18</sup> On φιλοτιμία, love of honour, see Dover, 1974, p.229ff., where the word 'applied to a soldier denotes courage, energy and good discipline' (p.231). However, from the fifth century already the harmful effects of φιλοτιμία upon oikoi, armies and poleis were highlighted, especially when pursued in the interests of the individual rather than of the community (see Dover, 1974, p.232f., and Whitehead, 1983, pp.57-8). Therefore, the Athenian general, and in particular the historian who 'hides' behind him appear perhaps aware of the dark side of this feature of human character, and of 'the debate about its nature and desirability, which well continued through the fourth century' (Whitehead, 1983, p.58). This scholar, 1983, *passim*, has argued based on literary and inscriptional evidence that the dangerous effects of philotimia urged the Athenians from the fifth century but mostly in the fourth to 'democratise' it, that is to exploit it to the profit of the whole community.

papyrus is based upon Polyaeus may safely be dismissed. The papyrus was written only about one century after Polyaeus, and the view that it preserves the work of a writer of the Roman period, who was copying Polyaeus, is highly unlikely. There are no extant papyri of Polyaeus and the circulation in Egypt of the works of the later Greek 'historians' was limited. Still in the third century A.D. people in Egypt preferred the more famous historians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Moreover, the agreement between our fragment and Polyaeus which amounts to the identity of words and structures, the use of synonyms, this noteworthy resemblance which potentially would be more striking, if the piece was larger and less mutilated, in my opinion, is not explained satisfactorily by the hypothesis of the common source. Taking into account that Polyaeus' passage is shorter than our piece and does not contain anything strikingly different from it, we are encouraged to consider the author of our papyrus as a likely authority for Polyaeus' specific stratagem.

The task of identifying Polyaeus' source for *Stratag.*3.9.28, however exciting it may seem, is really difficult. Unfortunately, Polyaeus never records the sources used for his collection of *Strategemata*. Did he rely in most cases upon historical works, mainly Ephorus, Philistus, Timaeus, Hieronymus, but also Plutarch, and others, as Melber (1885), and later Phillips (1971) have argued, or did he copy with few exceptions previous collections of stratagems and anecdotes, as Garcia (1986) concluded?<sup>19</sup> In her recent monograph on Polyaeus Schettino (1998, pp.129-190), reexamined in detail the problem of the sources and concluded that Polyaeus had employed both collections of stratagems and celebrated historical (and semi-historical, e.g. Plutarch) works; as for the latter, however, she questioned, whether in some cases at least, the original works and not epitomes were used. Therefore, so far scholarship cannot answer definitely, since most of Polyaeus' likely sources have perished. Melber and Phillips considered Ephorus the main source of Polyaeus' Book I, and assumed excerpts of Ephorus to be scattered throughout the rest of the Books of the Stratagems. The detailed list they provide (in Garcia, 1986, p.60) regarding the identification of Polyaeus' sources 'keeps silent' about 3.9, while for 3.3, 5, 10 and 12-15, the only sections of Book 3 that could be assigned to a source, the work used has been Ephorus' *History*. In line with them,

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<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, I had no access to the two doctoral thesis on Polyaeus, accomplished by Phillips. (Harvard. 1972) and Garcia. (Madrid. 1980). Their conclusions became available to me through the



Schettino (1998, pp.173f.), places *Stratag.* 3.9.28 in the first among the three groups she divides the long chapter of the 63 Iphicrates' stratagems ('episodi caratterizzati da un tono genericamente elogiativo'), which she strongly attributes to Ephorus; he, compared to Xenophon and Theopompus, appears -through Diodorus' narrative- not expressing any reservations about Iphicrates' generalship (for the objections of Xenophon and Theopompus, see above and below respectively). The comparison of Polyaeus 3.9.28 to Diodorus 15.63 and 65.6 which refer to the same events, does not confirm definitely this assumption, but does not exclude it either. The attitude towards Iphicrates and his army is the same, and the non-existence of *verbatim* correspondences of our piece and Polyaeus with Diodorus is not sufficient evidence against Ephorus' authorship. Diodorus does not copy his sources slavishly (at least not always), and the collation of his prototypes (where possible) verifies that omissions, additions and alterations frequently occur in his work. Palm (1955, pp.55ff.) has pointed out through a comparison of Diodorus and P.Oxy.XIII 1610 that the number of places where Diodorus reproduces Ephorus with servility is comparatively limited. It has always been recognised that Diodorus treated his sources inconsistently, and he normally had to omit many of the details in their narrative, in order to fit the scale of his Universal History (on this topic see, for instance, Rubincam, 1976, p.365, and generally on Diodorus' treatment of his sources Sacks, 1994, pp.213-232, and Stylianou, 1998, pp.25-139, in particular pp.132-139). Diod.15.63 could as well be an instance of this practice.

An attempt at tracing Pausanias' source, consulted for this section of his work, has not produced results regarding the authorship of this piece. The period extracted from Pausanias is included somehow parenthetically in the so called 'Epaminondas' biography' (Paus.9.13-15), where apparently the Theban general (βοιωτάρχης) is the subject of the digression. Iphicrates, whose good generalship seems to be revealed in the speech of our piece, is always at a disadvantage compared to Epaminondas. It has generally been assumed that for Epaminondas' section in Pausanias Plutarch's lost *Epaminondas* was used. This view, firstly advanced by Wilamowitz (1874) and later elaborated by Peper (1912), was followed by the majority of scholars up to Shrimpton



(1970)<sup>20</sup> who in his doctoral thesis reaffirmed this suggestion.<sup>21</sup> More recently, however, Tuplin (1984) on the grounds of inconclusive evidence, has challenged Shrimpton's main position, that Plutarch's lost *Life* survives in references to Epaminondas made by Pausanias. But even if we accept the connection between the two texts, which appears probable, since the likely source of Pausanias is no longer extant, it is not possible to draw any certain conclusion concerning our piece. Plutarch could have been equally brief about Iphicrates. Given that the portrait of Epaminondas is being sketched, Iphicrates' speech is unlikely to have been included. The search for the sources of the lost *Epaminondas* and of the way they presented these events would be constrained due to lack of evidence. Plutarch for his account of fourth century events used various historians, among whom certainly and probably heavily Theopompus (cf. *FGrHist* 115 F107, F321, F322, F323, F325, F326, F327, F328, F329, F330, F331, F334), Ephorus (cf. *FGrHist* 70 F210, F213, F219, F220, F221, F226) and Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124 F10, F18, F26, F36)<sup>22</sup>. As far as Epaminondas is concerned, Shrimpton (1970) examined all the later tradition about Epaminondas, and argued that it appears 'uniform', based on the researches of Ephorus, who borrowed from Callisthenes.

It is a matter of regret that so little of the text remains, therefore no certain association could be made with the work of any known author on stylistic grounds. The plain and straightforward but monotonous style does not suggest an author who possessed very high literary merits. Even hiatus is not avoided uniformly, as it was shown above, unless this happens due to the scribe's peculiarities. The writer displays a fondness for repetition; probably articular infinitive preceded by the preposition εἰς, instead of a substantive -a construction reminiscent of Thucydides- is employed twice within three successive lines (ll.ii.4,6), as well as the verb προάγω in two successive lines (ll.ii.5, 6). A genitive absolute perhaps occurs (?) in ll.ii.1-2 and 9-10, and an antithesis (μέν.. δέ) in ll.ii.3,5. The writer is inclined to verbosity, apparent in the repetition of Iphicrates' intention to resign in ll.ii.6-7 (προαγ[ετω παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν] and 13 (στρατη[γος] ὑμῖν ἐστ[αι/ω]). Φιλοτιμία, φιλοτιμοῦμαι (l.ii.2)

<sup>20</sup> For a list of scholars who followed this view, see Tuplin, 1984, p.346 n.1, with the addition of Regenbogen, 1956, 1068, and Habicht, 1998, p.98, n.10.

<sup>21</sup> I read the conclusions of his doctoral thesis entitled *The Epaminondas' Tradition* (Stanford, 1970) in *D.A.* 31 (1971) pp.2362A-2363A.

<sup>22</sup> Callisthenes has been actually identified as the main source for Plut., *Pelopidas* by Westlake, 1939, pp. 11-22, and Fuscagni, 1975, pp.31-55.

and its compounds are attested in the extant works of almost all Greek historians, most impressively in Diodorus Siculus (the *TLG E* produced about 220 matches); notably nine matches occur in the fragments of Theopompus. Additionally, the adjective ἀνυπόστατος, if the restoration suggested is acceptable, is found only in Xenophon (4 matches) and in Diodorus Siculus (8 matches) among the historians who have written about fourth century history.

The general style of the fragment and all the above information, I think, point to an early writer, that is before the Roman period, consequently, it should be checked who among them can claim to be considered the author of the piece. The identification of our author with Ephorus is a possibility, since he has included the events of this period in the 21. book of his history, and he may be a likely source for Polyaeus, as was discussed before. The popularity of Ephorus in antiquity, indicated by his extensive use by writers of the Roman period, cannot be disputed, therefore, his works would be expected to turn up in Egypt. So far, among the masses of unidentified historical papyri three are attributed almost certainly to Ephorus: P.Lit.Lond.114 (*Res Publica Cretensium* (?), II A.D., Pack<sup>2</sup> 358), P.Oxy.XIII 1610 (*Historiae* 12 or 11, II-III A.D., Pack<sup>2</sup> 357) and P.Ryl.III 492 (on the Persian wars, V A.D., Pack<sup>2</sup> 2182). He has also the first claim for the authorship of P.Oxy.XI 1365 (= P.Lit.Lond.111, III A.D., Pack<sup>2</sup> 2181), a piece on the history of Sikyon. The texts on these papyri and the few extant quotations of Ephorus' own words, are becoming sufficient evidence to form a conception of his style. The leading characteristics of it appear to be verbosity, easiness, tameness, with a tendency to break into rhetoric, which accords with the judgments of ancient critics, e.g. Cicero, *Hortens* Fr.12 (*quid ... Ephoro mitius inveniri potest*); *Brut.*204 [*lenissimo Ephori (ingenio)*] and Dio Chrys.18.10 (τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον). He has been fond of genitive absolutes, but his tendency to use the articular infinitive is not traceable in the fragments which are attributed to him with certainty. His fondness for speeches is attested, as it has been censured along with Theopompus' and Anaximenes' by Plut.*Mor.*803b: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους ῥητορειῶν καὶ περιόδων ὥς περαίνουσιν ἐξοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει. Barber (1935, p.58) points to Ephorus' interest in personalities and his inclination to criticise or appraise the character of a prominent man. The inclusion of this speech of Iphicrates in a historical work reveals, in my opinion, the author's interest



in the Athenian general, and furthermore, as the comparison with Polyaeus' fragment shows, his favour to him. But one would go too far, if one considered the sympathy towards Iphicrates as an indication of lack of impartiality and bias in favour of Athens, of which Ephorus has been often accused of (see Barber, 1935, pp.88ff., and Stylianos, 1998, p.104 where this view is challenged).

We are on equally difficult ground in deciding upon Theopompus' claim to the authorship of the piece. Theopompus wrote two relevant works: *Hellenica*, a continuation of Thucydides, which covered the Greek affairs from 411/0 and 395/4, and *Philippica* covering mainly the period from 360-336. Therefore, our piece could only have been part of one of the frequent digressions in Theopompus' second voluminous work, like the one in Book 10 on the Athenian Demagogues. In this, which was mostly polemic in character, have been certainly included Athenian politicians of the years 483-416 (Themistocles to Hyperbolicus) and then of c.380-350 (Callistratus to Eubulus). This excursus on Athenian demagogues according to all available evidence does not seem to have dealt with Iphicrates (Shrimpton, 1991, pp.70-1), for whom Theopompus feels sympathy: (*FGrHist* 115 F105) '...διὸ καὶ εἴλοντο αὐτῶν οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καταβιοῦν, Ἰφικράτης μὲν ἐν Θράκη.....'. Cornelius Nepos *Iph.*3 attests that Theopompus in his work has made among the positive a negative comment on Iphicrates: '(Iphicrates), in labore nimis remissus parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriae prodidit', and Plutarch (*Ages.*31,1 and 32,13-33) that he has included somewhere in the *Philippika* Epaminondas' campaign to the Peloponnese (*FGrHist* 115 F322 and 323). Moreover, Polyaeus could have consulted Theopompus for a few parts of his work (list by Melber and Philips, reproduced by Garcia, 1986, p.60, and Schettino, 1998, pp.175-77), and this has been further confirmed through a papyrological find: P.Ryl.I 19 (II A.D., Pack<sup>2</sup> 1503) which preserves the epitome of *Philippica* 47 (on the events of 340 B.C.) with a title on the back. The piece is closely connected with Polyaeus, 4.4.1, 'of which', the editor of the papyrus concludes, 'the source is now sufficiently evident'. Arguments from style, especially in the case of such fragmentary material on both sides, bear little weight. The only comment that could be made is that the characteristic vigour and eloquence of Theopompus, his '*elatio atque altitudo orationis*' (*Cic.Brut.*66: *FGrHist*115 T36) under the influence of the style of Isocrates, whose pupil he was considered to be, is not displayed in our piece. Theopompus certainly employed speeches in his historical account, as is shown by the censure passed



upon him in common with Ephorus and Anaximenes by Plutarch (*op.cit.*) and by two papyrological fragments of the *Philippica* (*FGrHist* 115 F164 and 166). Finally, φιλοτιμία, (personal ambition) was for Theopompus a base motive for seemingly patriotic and generous acts. But as Flower (1994, p.172) points out, although not all Greeks took a negative view of it, Theopompus considered it to be ‘a dangerous and pernicious quality’ cf. *FGrHist* 115 F66, F114, F323 and F388.

Polybius (*FGrHist* 115, T19) observes Theopompus’ neglect of Greek affairs from 394 to 360. The period from 386 to 356 was covered by Callisthenes’ *Hellenica* in ten books. Callisthenes of Olynthus was according to Eusebius (*FGrHist* 70 T17) one of Ephorus’ authorities (on the relation between Callisthenes and Ephorus, see Barber, 1935, pp.131ff., Prandi, 1985, pp.127ff., and Stylianos, 1998, p.104f.). He included the events concerning the Theban invasion to Laconia probably in his first book of *Hellenica* (*FGrHist* 124 F8). The small number of the surviving fragments of his *Hellenica* does not allow us to detect a possible connection to our piece. It has been noticed, however, that Callisthenes followed a tradition very unlike Xenophon (Hornblower, <sup>2</sup>1994, p.10), which is apparently the case of our papyrus. Anaximenes of Lampsacus and Daemachus of Plataea are shadowy figures of fourth century historians, whose works have almost completely perished.

The possibility that our piece was written by an Atthidographer, like Androtion or Philochorus who both have written about fourth century (cf. *FGrHist* 324 F48, and *FGrHist* 328 F150), should in my opinion be rejected. There is evidence that Iphicrates was mentioned by the Atthidographers Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 F48) and Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F150) with respect to the events of 391, when he with his peltasts mauled a Spartan mora. It was normally expected, though, for an Atthis not to contain speeches. However, Harding (1994, p.39), gives some indications which suggest that Androtion may have included speeches in his work, and Jacoby, (1949, pp.117f. and 147) raises this question in regard to Philochorus, who may have included a speech delivered by an Athenian in Athens about matters specifically Athenian (*FGrHist* 328 F69-70). Therefore, taking into account the nature of Atthis, that is, a local chronicle of Athens with literary pretensions, I doubt that it would have included a speech made by a general in foreign territory, in order to discourage his troops from fighting.

Finally, another famous historical work which does not include speeches is *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. The general absence of direct speeches, apart from a short one,

consisting of nine words, in the account of the revolution of Rhodes (P.Oxy.V 842.xi.22-3), may be due to accident. The extant fragments do not contain many suitable places for the composition of speeches, therefore, P (as Grenfell and Hunt named the unknown author) may have made use of them elsewhere. Though three substantial fragments have been discovered so far, namely P.Oxy.V 842 (II A.D., dealing with events in Greece of 397/6, Pack<sup>2</sup> 2189), PSI XIII 1304 (II A.D., with the events of 409-407/6, that is the last phase of the Peloponnesian War, Pack<sup>2</sup> 2190) and finally P.Cairo 6.SR.3049 (late I A.D., with events of 409), the beginning and termination dates of this work are not known; it should have started with the year 412/1, since there is good evidence that it continued Thucydides' unfinished work and it was published before 357 or before 346, as P appears ignorant of the fall of Phocis, or as it has been argued, even of the Sacred War (P.Oxy.V 842, p.122). Therefore, it is likely that it covered the events narrated in our piece. The remains of three different copies of the same historical work are indicative of its popularity in Egypt at least in the first and second centuries A.D. As far as it can be estimated, the fragments of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* bear some stylistic resemblance to our papyrus. Restricted vocabulary, repetition of favourite words and expressions, strikingly frequent use of antithesis, in general a colourless and unrhetorical style -apart from avoidance of hiatus, sometimes at the cost of the natural order of the words, a rule, however, subject to exceptions in *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*- has been observed in all the fragments of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and in this fragment. Furthermore, Polyaeus seems to have used directly or indirectly, that is through Ephorus, in some instances P, e.g. Polyaeus' account of the removal of Tissaphernes (*Stratag.*7.16) is apparently an abridgment of P.Oxy.V.842 vii-vii. In general, there is in *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* the tendency to include stratagems (see Gray, 1979, p.196). Pausanias also exhibits some cases of agreement with P, but mixed with points of difference (see P.Oxy.V 842, p.125). As has been mentioned before, our fragment belongs to a different tradition from the one Xenophon follows, and in this aspect is in agreement with *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

The remains of the first column are really meagre. In the best case the eight last letters of the line survive, a rather poor amount of writing to allow of restoration of the column and speculation over its content. It is expected to preserve events of the same period, probably regarding the same Athenian campaign to the Peloponnese.



To sum up, taking into account all the above information, I would have argued firstly in favour of Ephorus, and then of Callisthenes. Unless the text is actually a rhetorical exercise, namely a historical *suasoria*, like e.g. P.Hib.I 15 (280-240 B.C., Pack<sup>2</sup> 2496), a prime example of its class, which is considered a speech of the Athenian orator and soldier, Leosthenes.<sup>23</sup> As has been stressed throughout the introduction, the fragment is too short to enable us to obtain a clear idea of the writer's style, but the occurrence of two examples of hiatus, the 'awkward' repetition of vocabulary and structures may support this assumption. I simply cannot confirm from the evidence at my disposal whether it is a reasonable hypothesis or not. The existence of the first column which seems to be a historical account discourages the hypothesis. However, I think that it should be considered whether this speech was ever really delivered, or was placed in the mouth of Iphicrates. But also in this case, the related texts in Polyaeus and Pausanias suggest that there may have been a traceable historian of the fourth century who has been 'used' by the person who composed this speech as a rhetorical exercise, if this last assumption has any chance of being correct.

col.i		col.ii
]νετοα..		
]νιδηκολυ		±5 ]φικρατητων.[
]μμαχων		±5 ]λοτιμουμενω.[
]των		ελθων εγωμενειπεν[
5 ]δαυτους		.ιςτοβουλεσθαιμαχ.[
]νθιασαπα	5	ηγαγον ειδετισεμου.[
] . . .α		ει..ομαχεσθαι π . .α.[
] .		βωντηνηγεμο.[
]καιπα.		δετους[. . .].τασω.[
10 ]ατου. .		στι. . . [±6]θαιθη.[
]νοι	10	ανυπος[.].ωνεινα[
]εφθα		τωνκαικαθειλιντους[

<sup>23</sup> For the Greek historical declamations, see Russell, 1983, pp.106-7, and the list assembled by Kohl.



	]επα	οὔτα[±4].χειτεειπε[
	. . . . .	στρατη[+3]υμινεστ[
15		.ων[±4].αλλ[
	15	δεα[
		. . . . .

col.i:

1 ], short horizontal, which could be compatible with the cap of ε. α., π or γ, perhaps more likely the former, followed in this case by the foot of a vertical below the notional parallel, accepting ρ, υ, τ, ι, unless it is stray ink. Alternatively, in the case of the first letter being a γ, parts of two long verticals follow, which could belong to one or two different letters. 7 ]...., tops of about four or five indeterminate letters. The second trace has perhaps a curved top, while the second has on either side a dot. These could suggest trema, although there is no evidence that it was marked (see l.ii.13: υμιν), or they could be the remains from the prongs of υ. The identification of the rest of the traces is pretty hopeless, since they could belong to any letter, excluding the ones with round or curved top. 8 ], traces of two rather than three letters. I would favour the option of a long letter, possibly υ, followed by ν, and not by αι. 9 α., the obvious candidates are ρ and ι (like the second one in l.ii.6). 10 .., the high horizontal could suggest a τ, followed by a short oblique, perhaps part of ο or α. 11 ], specks of ink on a vertical line.

col.ii:

1 .., the remaining of the first trace, consisting of a short horizontal joined to an oblique at two-thirds letter-height, suggests an α, although the identification is not straightforward. The oval bottom of the following letter would suggest θ or less likely ο. 2 .[, a tiny speck of ink from the bottom of a letter. 4 .ι, I think a speck of ink is visible at mid-letter-height on the left of the ι. χ[, foot of a letter. 5 υ., left-hand side part of a letter. 6 ι., I would like to read these traces as στ, and consider the high short dash discernible over τ and ο stray ink. ..α, ρ rather than ι, and ο are the most plausible restorations. α., top of vertical, accepting ι, γ, perhaps η, κ, and less likely ε, c,

μ, ν, π. 7 .[, short vertical, part from the top left-hand side of a letter, and speck of ink from the bottom right-hand side of the same letter, suggest the expected ν. 8 .[, low part of a descender, curving leftwards at the bottom, open to many possibilities, e.g. α, λ, δ, κ. .τ, trace of ink at almost mid-letter-height, well belonging to a vertical. ω.[, left-hand slightly curved side of a letter, mostly consistent with ε and c. 9 ...[, the first letter is either π or γ, followed by the foot of a long vertical and another tiny speck of ink. Perhaps there is space for one more letter between the first two described traces, to which the speck of ink, which is visible before the foot of the vertical, may belong, if it is not part of a large π. .[, traces from the bottom, possibly curved part of a letter. 10 .[, foot of a long vertical. ]., similarly bottom of a long descender. 12 ]., faint trace from the bottom of a letter. 14 .ω, the stem of a vertical which could belong to ι, γ, τ. .[, speck of ink from the bottom of a letter. ]., high speck of ink. 15 .[, γ or π, and since there is no trace of the extension of the horizontal leftwards, the possibility of the letter being τ is not very likely.

col.i		col.ii
	]νετο απ.	
	]νιδηκολυ	±4 ι]φικρατης των .[
	κυ]μμαχων	±3φι]λοτιμουμενων[
	]των	ελθων - εγω μεν ειπεν[
5	]δ αυτους	εις το βουλεσθαι μαχε[
	]νθιας απα	5 ηγαγον ει δε τις εμου .[
	] . . .α	εις το μαχεσθαι προα.[
	] .	βων την ηγεμον[ιαν
	]και πα.	δε τους[. . .].τασω[
10	]ατου. .	στι. . . [±6]θαι θη.[
	]νοι	10 ανυποστ[α]των εινα[ι
	]εφθα	των και καθελειν τουσ[
	]επα	οντα[±4].χειτε ειπε[
	. . . . .	στρατη[γος] υμιν εκτ[

1 .νετο: presumably a verb in second aorist or imperfect with stem ending with -ν is to be supplied, e.g. ἐφαίνετο, ἐγίγνετο, ἐγένετο etc, cf. perhaps *Xen.Hell.6.5.49*: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο.

2 ]νιδης: I cannot easily account for the second person singular ἄ]ν ἴδης, but it is certainly an option. This ending could also suggest a patronymic, e.g. Κωνωνίδης, for the famous Athenian general Timotheos, son of an equally famous Athenian, or Θρασωνίδης, that is Thrasyboulos, son of Thrason, both contemporaries of Iphicrates. However, the patronymics for addressing Timotheos or Thrasyboulos are not attested.

ολν: ὁ λν[?, that is article followed by name, patronymic or name of a place of origins, or a participle, e.g. ὁ λύαα/ λυάμενα. Even the poetic Κροῖνίδης Ὀλύμπιος could have a place in a quotation within a historical work.

3 συμμαχων is a tempting restoration, cf. perhaps Diod.15.63.1: ‘πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις  
τῶν συμμαχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὁμοίας αἰτίας  
ὀλιγανδρούντων..’

6 Ἰνθιας: κοριῖνθίας or ὀλυῖνθίας? In regard to the content of the second column, the former restoration appears more acceptable.



ἀπό[της would be certainly a possibility among others.

12 εφθα: perhaps a form of (δια)φθείρω, [e.g. (δι)εφθάρη], or of φθάνω.

13 The name of the Theban general, Epameinondas, is certainly an option.

col.ii:

1-3: cf. Polyae.3.9.28,1-3,6: Ἴφικράτης περὶ Κόρινθον Ἀθηναίων ἐστρατήγει πολεμούντων Θηβαίοις. οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα ἠπείγοντο ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην . . . . . καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη.

1 A transitional particle, combination of particles or phrase may have preceded the name of Iphicrates, e.g. ὁ δέ, καὶ γάρ.

At the end of the line after των perhaps Ἀθ[ηναίων could be restored., although the reading of the last traces as αθ is difficult. The reading πο, e.g. for πολλῶν, should, I think be excluded, but it could follow Ἀθηναίων; alternatively an infinitive or phrase meaning ‘coming out to fight’ could be supplied in this line or after φιλοτιμουμένων, e.g. ἐπεξιέναι/ ἐξελθεῖν/ ἐπὶ μάχην/ εἰς μάχην/ μάχεσθαι (dull repetition, cf. II.ii.4,6)/ πολεμεῖν. The supplement at the end of this line may continue in the ensuing one. Cf. Paus.14.7: ὥς ἐπεξιέναι μαχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκώλυεν Ἴφικράτης.

2 Apart from φιλοτιμουμένων another possibility is the compound συμφιλοτιμουμένων, the verb being attested eleven times in Diodorus, or before the plain participle there is space to fit in the last (three or four letters) of the last word of the first line. At the end of the line the preposition of a compound aorist participle of ἔρχομαι with the meaning ‘come forward to speak’ is a plausible restoration, since I doubt that the plain participle was employed. The choice should be among παρελθών, προελθών, προσελθών, ἐπελθών.

3-4 cf. Polyae.3.9.28.6-7: ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο ἀνδρείας προήγαγον.

3 After εἶπεν a word beginning with a vowel is expected. I would restore it for instance as ὑμᾶς/ ἄνδρες/ Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτο(ν). A quantitative could be alternatively supplied in the line below.

4 After μάχ. the sequence could be μάχε[σθαι / μάχη[ν ποιεῖσθαι προ]|ήγαγον. If one opts for μάχε[σθαι, which appears more likely, there may be space for five or more letters; I would suggest for instance: ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ.

5-6 cf. Polyae.3.9.28.7-9: τῶν δὲ ἐμοῦ κρείττωνων στρατηγῶν παραλαβὼν τις ὑμᾶς προαγέτω.

5 ἐμοῦ ἐ[στι κρείττων or better κ[ρείττων ἐστιν may be reconstructed.

6 Tempting restoration: προαγ[έτω παραλα]|βὼν, rather than the plain λα]βὼν, which does not lay stress on the succession of office. The trace after α, however, could be also an ι (for a form of the verb προαιροῦμαι?, e.g. προαι[ρείσθω). Probably we could add ὑμᾶς after the verb.

7 After ἡγεμον[ίαν could be restored ὑμῶν or τοῦ στρατοῦ/ στρατεύματος. At the very end of this line a conditional conjunction or a relative pronoun could be expected. The first two suggested supplements may leave space for c.9 or c.4 letters respectively. Thus, one may think of supplements such as τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑμῶν or τούτου τοῦ στρατοῦ.

8ff. The sense of the following lines could be a further illustration of the conditions that Iphicrates puts for the ambitious leader of the army who wishes to withstand the Thebans. With respect to this, I would suggest the following speculative supplements.

8 τοὺς λ[έγο]ντας ὥς[ would be an acceptable restoration. Alternative articulations, less likely though, could be τοῦ c.[±4] -for e.g. τοῦ στ[ρατο]ῦ- τας ω[ or τὰ cω[, for e.g. cώμ[ατα. After τοὺς λ[έγο]ντας ὥς[ one would expect a neutral adjective which

would form along with ἐκτί an impersonal phrase. I would suggest ἐπιεφαλέστερον or ἐπικίνδυνον. Forms of ἐπιεφαλῆς are attested four times in Diodorus (8.6.1, 9.14.2, 10.4.2, 13.77.2).

9    cτι: very likely ἐ|cτι. Then, probably an infinitive ending in -θαι is expected. An option may be προ[cφέρεc]θαι.

A form of Θηβαίοι, e.g. Θηβ[αίων, Θηβ[αίοιc, Θηβ[αίους, or less likely αἱ Θῆβ[αι? could be supplied, the reading of β, however, is not certain. In the former case, it is tempting to think of a genitive (cf. 1.10: ἀνυποc τ[ά]των) absolute participle, whose object could be εἶνα[ι (1.10). An option could be δοκούντων.

10 The most tempting restoration is ἀνυποc τ[ά]των εἶνα[ι. For the sequence I would suggest καί or better τε to avoid the repetition of καί (cf. 1.11), followed by another predicate similar in meaning to ἀνυποcτάτων, ending in -των, e.g. δυνατῶν, or perhaps ἀηττήτων. The suggested reconstruction would leave space for c.8 letters after εἶνα[ι, perhaps for an infinitive like καθελεῖν, with which it would be joined through καί, dependent on the predicate ending in -των. Mere conjectures would be κρατεῖν or καρτερεῖν.

11 The object of καθελεῖν should refer to the enemies of the Thebans, thus a restoration such as τοὺc πολεμίουc/ ἐχθροὺc would be expected. At the end of the line there seems to be space to restore a predicate of τοὺc λέγονταc (1.8), dependent on ὄνταc, for instance δειλοὺc.

12 I would favour the reading ὄντα[ c ἐλέ]γχει rather than ]ἔχει which is certainly a possibility. The sequence may be for instance as follows: τε εἶπε τε κρεῖττον τι or εἰπεῖν τ' ἔχει τι, οὗτοc.

13    cτρατη[γός] ὑμῖν ἔcτ[ω/ ἔcτ[αι would be acceptable.



Thus, the second column *exempli gratia* would be partly reconstructed as follows, if the supplements suggested above have any chance of being correct:

±4 Ἰφικράτης τῶν .[  
 ±3 φιλοτιμουμένων[  
 ἔλθων ἔγὼ μὲν εἶπεν[ ὦ ἄνδρες τοσοῦτον  
 εἰς τὸ βούλεσθαι μάχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ προ  
 5 ἡγαγον· εἰ δέ τις ἐμοῦ κρείττων ἐστίν  
 εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι προαγέτω ὑμᾶς παραλα  
 βὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος· εἰ  
 δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς ἐπιφαιδέτερον ἐ  
 στι προφέρεσθαι Θηβαίων δοκούντων  
 10 ἀνυποτί[ά]των εἶνα[ι κρατεῖν τε δυνα  
 τῶν καὶ καθελεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς· δειλοὺς  
 ὄντας ἐλέγχει τε εἰπεῖν τ' ἔχει τι οὗτος  
 στρατηγός] ὑμῖν ἔστω  
 .ων.[±4].ἀλλ[  
 15 δε α.[

. . . . .

ll.3ff.: ‘having come forward, he said: I have always been inducing you, men, so much, so that you wished to fight. If someone is better than I am at fighting, let him take the command of the army, and lead you. And if he challenges those who say that it is more dangerous to attack, as the Thebans appear to be invincible and able to prevail and destroy their enemies, as cowards, and has something to say, let that man be your general.....’

## ORATORICAL PROSE

21.3B.24/K (1-3)a	Fr.1: 9.4 x 15.2 cm.	late II-early III A.D.
	Fr.2: 1.7 x 4.4 cm.	Plate III.
	Fr.3: 4.5 x 5.9 cm.	
	Fr.4: 4.9 x 11.9 cm.	
	Fr.5: 2.4 x 7.1 cm.	
	Fr.6: 1.0 x 1.5 cm.	
	Fr.7: 1.3 x 3.5 cm.	

Seven fragments from a papyrus roll, the largest of which, Fr.1, preserves 23 incomplete lines from the upper part of two successive columns; the others may belong to the same two columns, but they certainly defy definitive placement. More specifically, the fourth and fifth fragments come from the bottom of a column, while the second and third piece display left-hand and right-hand side margins respectively. The generous margins left in particular at the top (at least 3.3 cm.) and bottom (at least 4.2 cm) reveal some care in presenting an elegant manuscript. The intercolumnium measures about 2 cm. The piece has suffered heavy damage through innumerable holes of various size, a vertical fold in about the middle of the second column of Fr.1, along which there has been considerable wear, and abrasion especially in Frs.4 and 5. Column-height is beyond concrete estimation. On the assumption that all pieces belong to two columns, each of them should have accommodated at least 38 lines (a figure up to 45 lines in column is considered normal, see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.58-9). A conjecture regarding column-width is made based on evidence derived from l.Fr.1.ii.16 (see n.ii.16); line length is roughly estimated at 6 cm., which could be an acceptable figure (see Kenyon, <sup>2</sup>1951, pp.56-7, and Johnson, 1992, pp.423-7). Whether this assumption has any chance of being correct, my feeling is that about 1/3 and 2/3 of the original lines have survived in colls.i and ii of the first fragment respectively. The text written in black ink runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

The text is written clearly in a common, plain, upright hand, of medium-height of the 'Severe Style', but not of its 'strict' version (cf. Roberts, *GLH*, 19b). Bilinearity is respected but in the writing of  $\tau$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\phi$ , the tails of which project below the lower notional parallel, and slightly of  $\alpha$ . Notable letters are: the flat and high-placed  $\omega$ , deprived of its middle stroke, the angular  $\alpha$  with 'sharp' left-hand bottom acute angle, the cone-headed  $\theta$ ,  $\nu$  with shallow bow, and  $\tau$  with long horizontal most of the times. The middle stroke of  $\varepsilon$  appears sometimes prolonged, even touching the ensuing letter, e.g. in Fr.3.10 and Fr.5.3. The initial letter of the line is conspicuously enlarged. Strokes of  $\alpha$  and  $\varepsilon$ , performing the function of line-fillers, are extended at the end of lines (see Fr.3.7 and 8). The hand shares features with P.Oxy.I 23 (Plate VI) which is dated with certainty not before 200 and not later than the end of the third century. Furthermore, it resembles a series of hands in P.Oxy.III 420 (Plate VI), VII 1012 (Plate IV) and 1017 (Plate VI), XI 1364 (Plate V) and 1365 (Plate VI), XIII 1606 (Plate II) and 1610 (Plate III), LX 4041 (Plate VII), LXI 4106 (Plate IX), all assigned by their editors to the second half of second till the middle of the third century A.D. Therefore, I would assign this hand within the same time-span.

No lectional signs are visible. Elision is effected tacitly (Fr.1.ii.8,9, Fr.4.7 and possibly Fr.1.i.11 and again ii.9). Punctuation is indicated by means of space of one letter (Fr.1.ii.2,4,9,10,14,15?, Fr.4.8?). Cancellations (Fr.1.i.12, ii.15-6) and correction (Fr.1.ii.10?) are made by the same hand. Finally, Maas' Law of slight slant is noticeable in the second column of the first fragment.

The pieces under examination appear to preserve oratorical prose, written in attic dialect. The apostrophe in Fr.1.i.5, and the use of first person singular in Fr.4.15 and probably Fr.1.ii.2 strongly support this suggestion. However, it remains vague whether it is an independent speech, actually delivered in the Amphictyonic Council, or was included in a historical work, or if it is actually a rhetorical declamation, either a copy of an exemplary ἐπίδειξις such as those transmitted under the name of Libanius, or the draft of an original one. None of these options can be dismissed with certainty. Regarding the historians, this piece may have come from the work of any historian who had dealt with Amphictyonic matters.<sup>24</sup> A strong candidate would be Callisthenes who was certainly interested in the topic: he wrote a monograph on the Third Sacred War



(*FGrHist* 124 F25) and compiled along with his kinsman Aristotle a list of Pythian victors. The Third Sacred War is also covered in Diodorus Siculus 16, a possible indication that it was extant in the narrative of Ephorus. It is a matter of regret that not enough of the text remains, and in such mutilated condition, to enable us to obtain a clear idea of the nature of the text. Some stylistic remarks could however cast some light on the problem. Hiatus is avoided. The writer appears prone to repetition: πόλις is employed twice within the space of four successive lines (Fr.1.ii.1 and 4), final clauses of ἵνα appear three times (Fr.1.ii.9,14, Fr.4.7) and compound verbs beginning with σύν possibly twice within two successive lines (Fr.1.i.6 and 7). A periphrasis is noticed in Fr.1.i.1 (ἔχουσιν (?) ἁκέβειαν), which in some contexts could be an element of stylistic elevation but also a sign of unprepossessing Greek. Traces of antithesis can probably be spotted in Fr.1.i.11,12, Fr.4.14,15, but owing to lack of the whole sentence they cannot be really confirmed. There is perplexing interchange of grammatical person and number, but this would have been understood, if the material had not been so fragmentary. Although the impression is that there is one speaker throughout (cf. Fr.1.i.5, ii.2?, Fr.4.15), ἢ νῖδοις in Fr.1.i.5 would suggest the report of a conversation (Figure of Hypophora?, see n.). The most ‘suspicious’ feature of the style of this text is the use of poetic and rare words and phrases which would contravene normal prose usage: πόλις τρ[α]γικῶν παθ[ῶν] (Fr.1.ii.1), ἔγδικος (Fr.1.ii.8), κοῖταις (Fr.1.ii.11), μόρσιμον? (Fr.3.2), are the most discernible examples. They could, at least a couple of them, have belonged to poetic or oracular quotations, but they do not seem to scan. The best guess that could be made on the nature of this text, taking into account the ‘florid’ style and the use of diction foreign to attic oratory, is that the piece could be part of a rhetorical declamation.

A plausible assumption is that this declamation could be, by using the Latin term, a historical *suasoria*, that is a deliberative speech advising a course of action in a historical situation (for the term, see *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v.declamation, and Russell, 1983, pp.1-2). There are sufficient references in the rhetorical handbooks of the second through to the fifth centuries A.D., assembled in Kohl, 1915, to suggest that declamations based loosely on historical events were quite common. Most importantly, actual texts of some historical declamations have survived, the earliest of them, Ptolemaic in date, on papyrus

<sup>24</sup> Amphictyony did not matter in the account of major historians, as Thucydides, Xenophon and others.

(for a list of the relevant papyrological finds, see for instance Pack, <sup>2</sup>1965, among nos.2495-2559, and Jander, 1913, *passim*), while latest examples include elaborate speeches of Aelius Aristides, Libanius and Choricus, with mythical, pseudo-historical and historical setting. The majority of the themes of the Greek historical declamations concentrate on the classical period, with only a few mythical and hardly any Hellenistic themes (see Russell, 1983, pp.106-107, and the list assembled by Kohl, 1915).

In this piece the speaker is evidently addressing the Amphictyonic Council in Delphi (Fr.1.i.4). He speaks of impiety, whose agents probably cannot recover soundness (Fr.1.i.1-3), if they do not take action, perhaps concerning Apollo's cult at Pytho. Perhaps an instance is described, when a certain, expectedly well-known, individual or a group of people was/ were prevented from performing a pious? action, therefore, Pythios did not in some way favour his/ their plans or deeds (Fr.1.i.15f.). Advice seems to be given regarding consultation of the oracle at Delphi (Fr.1.ii.19-20), as in the (mythical?) past that city-state of tragic misfortune used to do whenever confronted with a plague, which was regarded as heavenly punishment (Fr.1.ii.8). It is not explicit whether the problem discussed is a plague, or whether the reference to it is an example of misfortune for which solution and comfort was sought at Delphi. Beyond these there is not much to be added; scattered references to the Dragon (Fr.3.10), oracular answers (?Fr.4.6, 7) and a leadership (Fr.4.15) cannot be of much help to establish a plausible 'scenario'.

Since the speaker is addressing the Amphictyony, he is likely to be one of the delegates of a state to Delphi, namely, either hieromnemon, that is the main representative of a state to the Amphictyony, or pylagorai, which were envoys elected by χειροτονία, probably of variable number, relative to the importance of the issue (for more information on the Amphictyonic envoys, see Roux, 1979, mainly pp.20-36, and Lefèvre, 1998, pp.205-214). Athens at least, from where sufficient evidence exists, sent to Delphi some first rank politicians, particularly as pylagorai, the most famous of which are Themistocles (479-478), Hyperides (345-344 according to Roux, 1979, p.28, 344-343, according to Develin, 1989, pp.326-7, and Lefèvre, 1998, p.306), Demosthenes (341-340) and Aeschines (340). All these politicians are traditionally popular with rhetors and school masters as subjects for declamation: see for instance Kohl, for

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Reasons for this fact are cited in Hornblower. 1992. *passim*, and especially pp.175ff.



Themistocles nos.55-71, for Hyperides nos.247-258, and for Demosthenes and Aeschines, nos.259-328. The so-called 'Demosthenes' era' outweighs other themes in popularity with a total of about 125 out of 350 themes of Greek historical declamations, according to Russell's calculations (1983, p.107). Certainly, all the delegates from the twelve races represented at Delphi could have - and some of them are attested to have - made speeches in the *Συνέδριον*: Themistocles, for instance, spoke at the Amphictyony in 478 as defender of the cities, which according to a Lacedaemonian suggestion were to be excluded from the council, due to their alliance with the Medes in the Persian Wars (Plut.*Themist.*20.3-4). However, lack of relevant or detailed evidence at our disposal, makes it extremely difficult to identify the speaker and the sources which the declamator exploits.

An orator and politician who himself provides us with information on his speeches in the Amphictyony is Aeschines. The actual speech that he delivered at Delphi in 340 is not extant, but he describes the situation and the speech in some detail in *Against Ctesiphon*, 107ff, cf. also Dem.18.149ff. Under Theban pressure the Amphissians suggested a fine of fifty talents against Athens, because this city had insulted Thebes by rededicating in the temple at Delphi the shields taken from the Medes and Thebans during the Persian War. Aeschines as an Athenian delegate was called upon and instead of answering the charge, he pointed out the land down below Delphi, visible from the site, which the Amphissians occupied illegally. His answer was an emotional call for a sacred war, which was finally declared (Fourth Sacred War). In the description of the situation, some lines from the original speech of Aeschines at Delphi are cited in direct speech inclusive of his apostrophe to the Amphictyonic Council (par.119), identical to the one preserved in our piece (Fr.1.i.4). Moreover, within the space of par.107-122 of *Against Ctesiphon*, the impiety of the Amphissians is stressed with diction reminiscent of the beginning of our piece: forms of ἀρεβῶ (2), ἐναγής (5), ἐξάγις (3), ἀρεβεία (2), ἀεληγής (1) are often employed. The old oracle which triggered off the First Sacred War is mentioned (PW17, Q70),<sup>25</sup> but with no reference to any plague or need for new consultation of the oracle, which may be implied in our

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<sup>25</sup> PW and Q refer to the catalogue of oracles drawn up by Parke and Wormell, 1956, *passim*, and Fontenrose, 1978, pp.240-416 respectively. It should be mentioned that Aeschines followed by Plut.*Mor.*76e, is the only testimony for this oracle on the First Sacred War. All other relevant sources, namely Diod.9.16, Paus.10.37.6, Polyae.3.5 and Suda σ 777 report only the oracle asked later on the long-lasting siege of Krisa (PW18, Q71), interpolated at Aeschin.3.112.



piece. These are the main reasons why the identification of the situations described in Aeschines' speech and our piece is not satisfactory, although the suggestion that we have come upon the remnants of a composition of Aeschines' supposed speech is tempting. Another occasion where the same orator is attested to have made a speech at Delphi is some years earlier in 346 B.C.; after the surrender of the Phocians in the Third Sacred War, Philip convened a meeting of the Amphictyons in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Aeschines and the rest of the Third Embassy attended the meeting and represented Athens. In this meeting Aeschines succeeded in persuading the Amphictyons to permit representatives from Phocis, who had been banned from the meeting, to speak in their own defence. The latter managed to dissuade the Council from imposing the draconian punishment urged by the Oetaeans upon the Phocians, that is the execution of all adult males of Phocis (Aeschin.2.142-3, supported by testimony of Phocians). A little later in 346/5, the Amphictyonic Council decided to award to Philip the two seats on the Council formerly held by the Phocians, and sent ambassadors to Athens asking for approval of their decision (Dem.5.hypoth.). Aeschines' support for the request of ambassadors (Dem.19.111-113) gave actually pretext for the composition of the XVII declamation of Libanius (vol.vi, pp.186-239, ed. Foerster), which may reflect an earlier tradition regarding the declamation topics related to Aeschines. The declamation entitled 'Οὐκ ἀντεῖπε τῷ Φιλίππῳ γινομένῳ ἀμφικτύονι ὁ Αἰσχίνης μόνος πεμφθεὶς πύλαγόρας καὶ ἐπανελθὼν κρίνεται δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων' apparently distorts historical reality, which is not unusual for the genre. In par.43 of the declamation, a sample of the speech that Aeschines may have made at Delphi, if he was to oppose the Council's decision is given, a text which perhaps hints at the possibility of the existence of more similar texts in antiquity presenting the same orator in the role of the Athenian delegate at Delphi.

In the world of later historical declamation Greek people often spoke through their representatives at the Delphic Amphictyony which was functioning as a Panhellenic Court. For instance, Thucydides' report that some of the Potidaeans actually ate one another in the great siege by the Athenians (Thuc.2.70), gave rise to a declamation composed by Libanius (XIII, vol.vi., pp.7-48, ed. Foerster), where Athenians are accused of impiety, presumably at the Amphictyony. With the same accusation, that of impiety, and possibly before the same court, the Athenians are also presented by Marcellinus (*RG* iv.248) after their absence from the Pythian games of 346, dismayed by the destruction of Phocis (Dem.19.128).

In an attempt to identify the circumstances reflected in our piece one certainly thinks of the Four Sacred Wars, declared by the Amphictyony against states guilty of impiety against Apollo. Events after the Third and before the Fourth Sacred War have been discussed in preceding paragraphs from the perspective of Aeschines' role in them. The task of further associating our piece with any of the Sacred Wars has not produced results, probably due to the inadequate evidence sometimes from both sides, (the Second Sacred War for instance is not treated satisfactorily by Thucydides or other extant historians, for an explanation for this, see Hornblower, 1992, *passim*). However, ancient sources report that early in the sixth century a speech from a famous personality of the time was probably heard at Delphi and manipulated the victorious end of the First Sacred War for the Amphictyony (Aeschin.3.108; Plut.*Solon*.11; Paus.10.37.6-7). It was Solon the Athenian who was invited to give advice concerning the sacrilege of the people of Crisa against Apollo's sanctuary. His speech is not preserved but the occasion could have inspired the composition of a rhetorical text, since Solon's career had been employed as topic for declamation (see Kohl, 1915, no.26). It should be pointed out that in this war the Amphictyons acted according to an oracle (PW18, Q71). It is obscure whether it was asked before (Aeschin.2.107) or after (Paus.10.37.6) Solon's intervention, however this fact, if used by a rhetor, could have been placed in terms of time, whenever it was considered suitable. The leadership or at least a very prominent post of this very same campaign against the people of Crisa, according to all available testimony, was offered to Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon (Paus.10.37.6, Polyae.*Stratag*.3.5), while the Athenians participating in this war were not commanded by Solon but by Alcmaeon (Plut.*Solon*.11). Since our piece mentions a leadership (Fr.4.15), we may entertain the faint possibility that Cleisthenes may have been the speaker of this speech, provided that the papyrus refers to the events of the First Sacred War. Finally, some more information regarding the 'saga' of the First Sacred War is included in the Hippocratic Corpus, namely in the pseudepigraphic *Πρεσβευτικὸς Λόγος* (*Epist*.27.3, ed.Littré 9.410, Smith, 1990, pp.113-4), presented as delivered at Athens by Thessalos, the son of Hippocrates. There, it is reported that plague fell on the Amphictyonic camp during this war, and to the question of the Amphictyons, the oracle replied that they would be victorious, if they fetched from Cos a deer's child and some gold (PW237, Q72). These turned out to be a Coan physician with his son, named



Nebros and Chrysos respectively. I doubt that this story is reflected in our piece, but the whole Presbeutikos is cited as an example of a rhetorical composition, partially inspired by events related to Delphi.

Since composers of declamations and rhetorical exercises did not regard themselves restricted by the historical record (for examples, see Russell, 1983, pp.113ff), the degree of historical fidelity in our fragmented piece would be difficult to determine. A completely fictitious story could have been mixed with a few historical elements and be given a historical setting, in which case the identification of people and situations would be a vain attempt. In the speech, to which our pieces belonged, names could have been omitted, cf. the 'Leuctrian' speeches of Aelius Aristides (XI-XV ed. Lenz - Behr), and stock-imaginary themes (general plasmata) could have been employed and individualised (examples in Russell, 1983, pp.120-5). In any case, our piece could be a produce of the literary activity of declamation. In terms of time it falls well into the chronological limits of the Second Sophistic (c.60-230 A.D, for a detailed account of this literary movement, see Anderson, 1993, *passim*), when the genre flourished. Unfortunately, the condition of the papyrus leaves no room for conclusions regarding the originality of the text; it could well be the draft of a speech, composed by a local? teacher of rhetoric, or a student of a rhetorical school, or even a declamation aimed at public recitation. The ephemeral nature of such literary products and the relatively frequent corrections of the piece might support this view, without, however, excluding the option of a copy of a more famous, exemplary epideictic speech.

## Fr.1

col.i.		col.ii
]χουσιναεβ.ιαν	1	πολιτ[.]ικωνπαθ[
]γεϑινιωνταιμο	2	μι καικαταπασηςα
]κεξεϑιν. .ιαι	3	.]μενητασσυμφορα[
]αν.αι.αρχ..ραε	4	τουςμυθ[.]υς πολιτλο[
]ανδρεσαμφικτ..	5	προλο. [.]υτονπαρη[
]ι[.]ι[.]μονσυ. .	6	.]λλακιςαι.ων[
]υνιδ.ιευ	7	επειγαρωνπαλαι[



]. .].c. .τ. .	8	τωνεγδικοςαπουραν[
]cμε[.] .]. .	9	.].voco[.]φυιουσ ιν[[α]][
]ρoceθν. .[.]	10	κτωνωcιν ε. . . [.]?].δ[
] . .δεκρινετ..	11	τερασκοιταιεχ[
[[ .]νμε.εγκαλυ.]]	12	δ.αφορε.ναμ.[
]ουνταδιαταc	13	c[.]ναλλη[
]c διαγαρτων	14	τονδημον . . [.]νω[
]ρεινεκωλυθη	15	cictiθε.(?) τοτεδη[[κ[
]ν[.]νκαινυν	16	.]χοντεc]]καθαπερεχο[
]τηγοπυθιοc	17	ρα.τ. .cυ.[-2-]δη[
]ουν[.]απ. .τον	18	±2]ωνδ[. .]ωτω[-3-]μ.[
]ηνετεραντ. .	19	.]ενω[.]ουcθ[. .][.]π.[
] . . .ελ. .τεc	20	±1].οιχρηcμοναιτηcο[
]ει.οϋ. .	21	±1]. . . [.]μ[.]ουντ.ε[
] .πϋ. . .	22	]την. [
] . . . . .	23	] [
. . . . .		. . . . .

Fr.1 col.i. 1 ], high and lower to the right specks of ink, presumably belonging to the upper and middle horizontals of ε. ι, part of horizontal at mid-letter-height suggestive again of an ε. 2 ], low right edge of an oblique at the right angle for α or λ. 3 ], top of oblique rising rightwards, apparently of υ. ν., the angle formed by the two short obliques suggests υ rather than χ, followed by a high horizontal compatible with γ. 4 ν., part of upper right slightly curved line, open at the top, well suiting ω. ι, τ hardly to be doubted due to speck at left letter-top level and violation of bilinearity. χ., traces assigned to the middle and lower parts of ε and ι respectively. ', high speck of ink placed in the right-hand margin, serving perhaps as punctuation, marginal siglum, or it is stray ink. 5 τ., remnants of the right prong of υ followed by indeterminate speck of ink. 6 ], shallow angle formed by two obliques, conceivably the top of a χ. ].[, tiny trace of

ink.  $\gamma$ ., the traces could be identified as a ligature of two uprights, suiting  $\gamma\iota$ . 7 . $\iota$ , part of a high small letter suggestive of o. 8 ]., lower part of a curve at the left-hand side of a letter topped with a short horizontal, compatible with  $\varepsilon$  without definitely excluding c. ]., long vertical bending slightly up- and- rightwards admitting either  $\upsilon$  or  $\rho$ . c., remnants of the lower left part of a letter curving rightwards followed by a short high horizontal, variously assignable, e.g. c,  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\theta$  the former, and c,  $\eta$ ,  $\pi$ , o the latter.  $\tau$ .,  $\tau$  is followed by two almost parallel verticals accepting  $\eta$ . The last letter could be a small  $\upsilon$ . 9 ]., unassignable tiny speck. ..]., right foot of a letter forming perhaps an acute angle, suggestive of  $\alpha$ , but it is uncertain whether there is room for one more letter at the end of the line. 10 ]., very faint, non-continuous specks of ink at different levels could belong to  $\varepsilon$  without excluding other possibilities.  $\upsilon$ ..[.], upright and almost joining speck at mid-letter-height suits  $\eta$ , while from the ensuing letter remains the top of an upright projecting above the notional parallels, compatible with  $\phi$  or even  $\psi$ . 11 ]..., foot of a fairly long upright, probably of  $\upsilon$ , the ensuing letter could be  $\upsilon$  as suggested by the shape of its bow, and the third trace could belong to a narrow upright, the only plausible candidate being  $\iota$ .  $\tau$ ..[.], a tiny speck of ink at mid-height of a letter which excludes neither  $\varepsilon$  nor  $\alpha$  or o, while the extended top horizontal at the end of the line suggests a c (not paralleled, however, in i.4), unless it stands for the final  $\upsilon$ . I do not think that there is much space for one more letter, lost in the gap. 12 ]., part of a right oblique suiting  $\alpha$ .  $\varepsilon$ ., left-hand upright well suggesting  $\upsilon$ .  $\upsilon$ ., short horizontal at mid-letter-height which may not stand for a letter but belong to the horizontal line through which the letters are deleted; otherwise, it would perhaps be consistent with  $\psi$ .  $\varepsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ . is certainly crossed through, but owing to some fibres being stripped away is not clear whether the cancellation also included the preceding letters. 13 ]., traces from a right descender, suggestive mostly of  $\delta$  and  $\lambda$ . 14 ]., speck of ink from the foot of a letter. 15 ]., traces from the bottom of a letter. 16  $\upsilon$ ., tiny speck from the foot of a letter, which may perhaps be followed by a narrow letter, lost in the gap. 18  $\pi$ ..., part of a high left-hand curve, compatible with  $\varepsilon$ , o,  $\rho$ . From the ensuing letter a right-hand curve and a trace resting below the left-hand side horizontal of  $\tau$  (stray ink?) has survived. 19  $\tau$ ., unassignable small specks of ink. 20 ....., three variously assignable traces, then probably the right-hand side part of  $\upsilon$ .  $\lambda$ ., two high tiny specks of ink, followed by half vertical marked below the left-hand side part of the horizontal of  $\tau$ . 21 ]., part of a high



horizontal which could belong to  $\tau$ ,  $\gamma$  or even  $\xi$ .  $\iota$ ., tiny trace from the upper part of a letter.  $\phi\upsilon$ ..., scattered tiny specks of ink which in terms of space should belong to one letter, and left-hand side curve, suggestive of  $\phi$  and perhaps  $\phi$ , which appears too big for  $\rho$ . 22 ]., low speck of ink and foot of an upright, which could well belong to the same letter.  $\upsilon$ ..., specks of ink, probably part of two letters, the last of which lies above the notional parallels. 23 ....., tiny traces of letters, all on the horizontal tear.

col.ii: 1  $\tau$ ., foot of a long vertical, well admitting the expected  $\rho$ . ]., part of a left-hand high horizontal suiting well  $\gamma$ . 4  $\phi$ ., short part from left-hand side vertical admitting many possibilities, I would suggest  $\gamma$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ , but other letters should not be excluded. 5  $\lambda\phi$ ., foot of a vertical, compatible with  $\iota$ , and then a more shallow than normal bow, presumably of a  $\mu$  (cf. ii.4). 6 ]., the trace does not really satisfy the shape of the expected  $\phi$ .  $\iota$ ., foot of a long descender, for which  $\tau$  is undoubtedly the strongest candidate.  $\nu$ ., top edge of a tall letter,  $\phi$  could be suggested. 9 .[, trace from the bottom of the initial letter.  $\phi$ , specks of ink from the top and bottom of a letter suiting conveniently  $\varepsilon$ . [[ $\alpha$ ]].,  $\alpha$  which appears to have been struck through is followed by a short bottom oblique ascending rightwards, belonging to  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\chi$ . 10  $\tau\omega$ , the ink spot over the left-hand side arm of  $\omega$  cannot be justified, it is possibly stray ink.  $\varepsilon$ ..., lower parts of two verticals, the first could suit  $\iota$ , the second is variously assignable. The ensuing letter could be  $\gamma$  joined with  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ , or  $\pi$ , followed by the tiny trace of one more letter. One letter may have been lost in the gap just after the second vertical and also before the last tiny trace. 12  $\delta$ ., upper extremity of a letter which does not really satisfy the expected  $\iota$ .  $\varepsilon$ ., the foot of a narrow vertical, well suiting  $\iota$ .  $\mu$ ., part of left-hand upright, which could well belong to  $\eta$  or  $\omega$ . 13  $\eta$ ., the surviving part strongly suggests  $\lambda$ . 14  $\nu$  ..., lower part of a vertical, foot of a vertical joined with a curve at mid-letter-height and finally oblique descending to left would be consistent with  $\iota\alpha$ .  $\nu$ , top of upright, perhaps of  $\iota$ . 15  $\varepsilon$ ., traces from one or two letters, namely a small curve and a speck of ink.  $\kappa$ .,  $\kappa$  appears to have been struck through, and the speck of ink next to it could be stray ink. 16  $\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , is crossed out.  $\phi$ ., vertical as of  $\nu$ ,  $\mu$  and less likely of  $\iota$ . 17  $\alpha$ ., the traces could well form the bow of a  $\nu$ .  $\tau$ ., two traces which could belong to one or two different letters, specifically an upright, followed by the top edge of presumably a second vertical, well accepting  $\eta$ , without excluding other possibilities.  $\upsilon$ .,



high left-hand side speck and right-hand upright, suggesting π, μ, ν or γι. 18 μ., left-hand side slightly oblique descender of probably ν, π and less likely α. 19 ω., trace of ink from the foot of a letter. .ο, part of high horizontal touching ο, compatible with τ. θ., foot of a letter, variously assignable. [..], tail of a long letter, that is of ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ. π., speck of ink at mid-letter-height. 20 ], right-hand side vertical, admitting ι, η, μ, π. 21 ....[, tops of three or four letters at the horizontal tear, the first two being short obliques descending to the left and to the right respectively, then top of a vertical, followed by half right-hand arc and upright, suggesting ν or αι. ], upper part of upright, presumably ι. ], top of upright, accepting for instance η, λ, μ, ν, υ. τ., mid-letter-height horizontal with traces of ink on each side, perhaps η. 22 ν., top of a letter, compatible with α, μ, ν, then almost half ε is visible. 23 ], tiny speck of ink.

## Fr.1

	col.i		col.ii	
	λέχουσιν ἀκέβειαν	1	πόλις τρ[α]γικῶν παθ[ῶν]	
	]γεσιν ἰῶνται μο	2	μι καὶ κατὰ πάσης ε[	
	ο]ὐκ ἔξεστιν ὑγιαί	3	]μενη τὰς συμφορὰς	
[νειν	]ανῶσι τὰς χειρὰς	4	τοὺς μύθ[ο]υς πόλις λο[	
	]ἄνδρες ἀμφικτύο	5	πρὸ λοιμ[ο]ῦ τὸν Παρ[ν]	
[νεσ	]χ[ρ]η[ς]μὸν συγ[ι]	6	[π]ολλάκις αἰτῶν [	
	]υνίδοις εὖ	7	ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαι[	
	]ε[. ]υς. ]την	8	των ἔγδικος ἀπ' οὐραν[	
	]σμε[.] . [.]α.	9	[.]νοσο[.] ἐφ' υἱοῦς ἱν[α]] α[	
	]ερος ἔθνη[.]	10	κτων ὧσιν ε. . . [.]δ[	
	]νιδεκρινετ. .	11	τερας κοίταις ἐχ[	ἄ
	[ ]αν μὲν ἐγκαλυ]	12	διαφορεῖν αμ[	
	]ουντα διὰ τὰς	13	ε[.]ν ἀλληλ[	
	]ς διὰ γὰρ τῶν	14	τὸν δῆμον ἱνα [.]νω[	
	]ρειν ἐκωλυθη	15	σιςτιθε.(?) τότε δη [κ[	
	]ν[.]ν καὶ νῦν	16	ε]χοντες]] καθάπερ ἐχο[	

την ὁ πύθιος	17	ραν τ..ρυ[-2-]δη[
ρουν[.]απρ. .τον	18	±2]ωνδ[.]ωτω[-3-]μ[
την ἑτέραν τ. .	19	.]ενω[.] τοὺς θε[οπ]ρ[ό]πο[υς
]. ἄνελόγτες	20	±1].οι χρησμὸν αἰτησ[
.]ει. .ου. .	21	±1]. . . .[.]μ[.]ουν τηε[
.]πυ. . .	22	την.ε[
]. . . . .	23	].
. . . . .		. . . . .

	Fr.2	Fr.3	Fr.4
	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
1	.[	].[	.]. κ. . .[
2	[	]ρσι[-5	.]λατηνπ[
3	[	]τ. . . .	.]. . .[.]ε[.]τ[
4	.[	.]. . . . .	.]. .τεσ. .ε[
5	λ[	].[. .]λλω	].±3 .]ωσαντ[
6	.[	.]ρχε[. .]κ.ρα.	.]. θ[. .]πιση[.]θ[ε[
7	π[	.]. . . . ν. . . . .	.]ινανε.ωσινου[
8	κα[	].[.] . . . .ςθ[ε	.]νηρξαν[.]πυθ. .[
9	ασε[	.]. . .αιωννα	.]ιςεπικ[.] .[.]α[.]κ[
10	. . . .	.]ρακο.τει	.]ςπιασα(.?).ε. . .α[
11		.]ογονοι[.]?π[α..ι	.]ενγαρτησαλ. . .[
12		.[ -4- .]	.]ςτον.ατα..η[
13		. . . . .	.]αικαθαρα[.]νυ[.]ατ[
14			.]νοστιμοιδε..ρπ. . .[
15			.]εγ.δετηνηγεμ. .[

Fr.2: 1 .[, tiny speck of ink. 4 .[, speck of ink from the foot of a letter. 6 .[, upright variously assignable, e.g. γ, ι, η, μ, ν, π, κ. 7 π[, part of baseline better suiting ω.

Fr.3: 1 ].[, tiny trace of ink. 2 ] ι, μ (better) or ν. 3 τ...., part of a vertical followed by a low tiny speck of ink and a small horizontal high above the upper notional parallel which could suggest a τ, then part from a low horizontal compatible with δ, ω, ξ, followed by a small trace which could belong to a different letter. 4 ]....., right-hand foot of a letter probably followed by ο, then left-hand curve, ε, c, even ω suggested. The next two traces are described as belonging to separate letters, although they could be part of one, the first is a low diagonal ascending rightwards and the second a horizontal baseline, of δ?, other options ζ, ξ. Finally, the stem of a long upright, better ρ or ν is preceded by a round letter, probably ο and followed by a low speck of ink. 5 ]., left-hand upright forming right angle at its top, admitting many possibilities, e.g. γ, ε, c, π. 6 ]., speck of ink at mid-letter-height which could belong to the middle stroke of ε. The trace of ink above it should belong to the tail from a long letter of the previous line or is stray ink. ]., top of upright, likely of ι? κ., low curve and mid-height traces suggest ε. α., left high short stroke descending rightwards admitting υ, χ, ν. 7 ]...., part of upright, then traces at top and bottom on the same vertical, open to many assignments, tiny speck of ink at mid-letter-height, presumably followed by η or γι. ν....., top of a letter, then short oblique at top letter-height followed by three lines, two almost straight at the top and in the middle, and one oblique ascending rightwards at the bottom. Thus, the possibility of ζ in all likelihood is to be excluded. Then speck of ink, which could well come from the right-hand edge of the diagonal of α, δ, or λ, and in the end tail of a long vertical. 8 ]., part of low horizontal and trace of ink above it. ]., tiny specks of ink variously assignable. ...ç, part of middle horizontal joined to two upper verticals, compatible with η, ω, ει. The high circle of the ensuing letter suggests ρ or ο, followed by upper part of upright and traces in a parallel line, belonging probably to an η. 9 ]...., upright and traces on a parallel left line, then part of arc and oblique descending leftwards, probably of an α, and finally high right-hand speck of ink. 10 ]., oblique bending rightwards, compatible with δ. .τ, left-hand upright admitting among many letters the favoured ν. 11 ι[.?), within this hole a c could have been lost. α., part of an upright, ι, ρ?, then traces suitable for η. 12 ].[, tiny speck of ink from the top of a letter ]., η or γι.



Fr.4: 1 ]., specks of ink from the bottom of letters. κ..., foot of a long letter, ρ, τ, υ, φ; then curve at the bottom of the following letter, which should be ε, c, θ; finally, speck of ink at the bottom of a letter. 2 ]., lower part of oblique descending rightwards accepting either α or λ. π., extremity of oblique descending leftwards belonging again to λ or α. 3 ]...., right-hand oblique curving rightwards compatible with α, λ, δ; lower part of upright, probably ι; part of high horizontal and trace at the bottom beyond the notional parallels suit well τ; [.], upper curve of ε or c? ε., part of high horizontal consistent with τ (better) and perhaps ξ. τ., small oblique, mostly admitting α. 4 ]., tiny specks of ink parallel to upper part of vertical could belong to separate letters, if not, they could suggest v. c..., lower part of extended oblique descending leftwards, better of α than of χ, followed by an upright joined at bottom left side with an oblique ascending leftwards which could suit v. ε., traces of ink, looking as if they form a low curve. 5 ]., a faint speck of ink. ]., speck of ink from the bottom of a letter. 6 ]., lower stem of vertical, variously assignable, e.g. ι, υ, ρ. η., part of high horizontal and foot of long vertical suggest τ, trace of ink between η and these traces either punctuation or casual? 7 ]., foot of a long vertical, presumably of υ, φ, τ, ρ. .ω, foot of a diagonal ascending rightwards, well fitting λ. 8 v., short part of upper and lower almost parallel horizontals, perhaps forming an o. A letter could have vanished in the preceding hole. θ., traces from the oblique right-hand side of a letter, presumably of α, followed by bottom part of a left-hand side vertical joined (?) with oblique descending rightwards, of a v?, or if the traces belong to two separate letters, ι and one more letter could be suggested. 9 ]., lower part of oblique descending rightwards, belonging to α, λ, δ. ]., curved side of a letter, of ρ, φ, θ, even β? [.], between α and κ a letter could have been lost due to abrasion. 10 ]., tiny speck of ink. α., circlet, perhaps head of ρ or half of φ. A narrow letter could have been squeezed after α. ...α., indeterminate traces of ink from three or four letters, the last of which could well come from α, δ, λ. 11 λ..., the extremity of an oblique visible below the right-hand foot of the preceding λ suggests a second λ, then right-hand vertical joined with half horizontal at mid-letter-height suggests η, followed by traces of a vertical. 12 ]., assuming that the traces belong to one letter, ω is the strongest option, otherwise perhaps θι or αι would fit. .α, lower part of an upright, shape and space favouring ι or even τ and κ? α..., faint traces of two letters?, the first could be a c. 13 ]., part of a thin almost horizontal bottom line. ].,

speck of ink from the top of a letter. 14 ε., scattered specks of ink, compatible with κα. π..., probably circlet of ο, followed by part of upright and indeterminate blob of ink. 15 ], trace of ink from the top of a tall letter. γ., part from the left-hand almost vertical side of a letter and its baseline, well suiting ω. μ., traces of two successive letters which could fit the expected reading ov.

	Fr.2	Fr.3	Fr.4
	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
1	.[	]I	] .κ . . .[
2	[	μό]ρσιμ[ον-3	ἀ]λλα τὴν π.[
3	[	]τ. . . .	] . . [.].ετ[.]τ[
4	.[	]ο . . ο. .	] . τεc. .ε.[
5	λ[	]I. .]λλω	]I[±3].γωcαντ[
6	.[	]ερχε[. .]κεραυ	] . . θ[εc]πίcη[.]θε[
7	πω[	] . . . .ν. . . . .	]ιν ἀνέλωcιν ου[
8	κα[	]I[.] . . . .cθε	]ν ηρξαν[.]πυθ. [
9	αcε[	]παλαιῶν να	]ιcεπικ[.]I[. .]α[.]κ[
10	. . . .	]δράκοντει	]cπιαc α(.?).ε . . .α[
11		]ογονοι [.] παιηι	]εν γὰρ τῆc ἁλλῆ[
12		]I -4- ] .	]cτον.αταc.η[
13		. . . . .	]αι καθαρα[.]νυ[.]ατ[
14			]νοcτιμοι δὲ . .ρπο. [
15			]ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμον[ίαν

	Fr.5	Fr.6	Fr.7
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . .
1	]I	]I	]α
2	]ραcε..	]φ[	[

3	]τ.ν. . .	]υθ[	[
4	]οτηςπεν	. . . .	]..
5	]ν.λα.[-1		[
6	]ρι. . [-1		].
7	]..[		. . .
8	] . . . ε..[-1		

Fr.5: 1 ], tiny speck of ink. 2 ε., indeterminate specks of ink. 3 τ., blob of ink 'hanging' from the right-hand top edge of τ. . . . , ε is the most plausible candidate, but θ cannot also be excluded; ligature compatible with γι or τι. 5 ν., bottom curve suiting well ε. α., part of high horizontal suggests τ and the rare ξ, ζ. 6 ], traces from the bottom of a letter. ι..., speck of ink followed by top of upright and even higher speck of ink. 7 ]..[, faint ink traces, probably belonging to two letters. 8 ...., indeterminate traces of letters, the second has a vertical side and the third could be α, δ or λ. ε..., too faint ink-traces to allow any conclusions, the second from the bottom of a vertical.

Fr.6: 1 ], left-hand side oblique of λ, δ or more likely α. 2 ], lower part of upright. 3 ], speck of ink from the top of a letter. .[, trace of ink from the bottom of a letter.

Fr.7: 4 ].., bottom of two letters, the first would suit β, the second probably ο. 6 ], part of a vertical.

	Fr.5	Fr.6	Fr.7
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . .
1	] [	]α[	]α
2	]ρασε. .	]φ[	[
3	]τ.νε. . .	]υθ[	[
4	]οτης πεν	. . . .	]..
5	]νελατ[-1-		[
6	]ρι. . . [-1-		].
7	].. [		. . . .



8 ] .α.ε. [-1

Fr.1:

col.i: 1: ]έχουειν ἀκέβειαν appears as a fairly awkward periphrasis, encountered only in christian context. The possibility of a compound of ἔχω cannot be excluded, although I do not consider it very likely.

2 ].γεειν: plausible suggestions could be ἄγεειν, ἄλγεειν and their compound adjectives, the most common being ἐνάγεειν. Also ἀεελγέειν.

ιῶνται: the form suggests third person plural of the verb ἰάομαι, or less likely third person plural subjunctive of ἴεμαι.

μο: the rules of syllabification drastically limit the possibilities, I would conservatively suggest a form of μόνος, or the adverbs μόνον or μόλις.

3-4 The sickness implied could bear literal or metaphorical meaning, cf. Sopater, *Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων*, 8.20.14f (RG viii): οὐ νῦν δὲ Αἰσχίνης πρῶτον ὑμῖν, οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ἀσεβείας κατάρχεται. Πάλαι ταύτην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νόσον νοσεῖ.

4 ]ανωει: λαμβάνωει, τυγχάνωει, λαγχάνωει, λανθάνωει, ἁμαρτάνωει, μανθάνωει are the obvious candidates.

6 συγχι (l.συγγι): If the reading is correct, plausible supplements would be forms of συγγίγνομαι or better συγγιγνώσκω which could take accusative as object, in case χ [ρ]η[ς]μόν could be considered to function in this way.

7 c]υνίδοις, ν]ῦν ἴδοις, ο]ῦν ἴδοις could be reconstructed. Puzzling is the change of person to second singular. It may be a case of Hypophora, when the orator conducts a fictitious dialogue (mostly with his opponent) for the sake of argument.

8 The last word of the line could be ἔϋτην.

10 ἔθνη: this is the term used for the twelve people (Thessalians, Ionians, etc) -members of the Amphictyony, see Aeschin.2.116, Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F63, and sch-Pind.*Pyth*.iv.118; also Lefèvre, 1998, pp.17ff.

11 ν]υγὶ δὲ κρίνετε or δὲ κρίνε, δ' ἐκρίνετο or δὲ κρίνετα[ι could be restored. Νυνί is so often employed in oratory (*TLG* produced 167 matches in Demosthenes and 54 matches in Aeschines), that it should make a good restoration.

15 ]πειν: the squeezed remains, probably added at the stage of the revision of the piece by the same hand, suggest a verb in -ρεω/ῶ and are open to many possibilities.

A form of a person of the Passive Aorist Indicative of the verb ἐκωλύθην, excluding the first and the second person singular.

18 ].οῦν[τ]α /.οῦν [τ]ὰ πρῶτον/ πρὸς τόν would be possibilities for the articulation of the remains of the line.

20 ].ἀνελόγτες?, cf. also Fr.4.7.

col.ii: 1 No concrete clue is provided as to the identity of this πόλις (repeated in Fr.1.ii.4), if it refers to a specific one. It may be a member of the Delphian Amphictiony (Fr.1.i.5), while the reference to δῆμον (Fr.1.ii.14) could bear Athenian connotations.

τρ[α]γικῶν παθ[ῶν; less likely παθ[ημάτων, cf. Hsch.τ 1233, Phot.τ 597, Sud.τ 892: τραγικὸν πάθος: μετὸν συμφορᾶς. Apart from *terminus technicus* in drama, this phrase expresses severe calamity as here; also in Plut.*Mar*.27.2, *Galb*.12.3, Diod.20.21.3.

1-2 A first-person singular verb in -μι should have started at the end of l.1. Unless at this point the city is personified and speaks for itself, -in that case, the verb εἰμί would be acceptable- a verb of speech may be required, best suggestion would be φημί.

2 μι και: the space of almost one letter after -μι may have been left deliberately on the papyrus as a kind of punctuation (cf. also Fr.1.i.14, ii.4, 10, 14).

κατὰ πάσης c[: in this fragmented context it is mostly a matter of guesswork to recognise the meaning of the prepositional phrase; however, the meaning ‘hostile sense’ or ‘in respect of, concerning’ (LSJ, s.v.A II 5 and 7, p.883 respectively) would be plausible. κατὰ πάσης c[τάσεως is only a possibility among many, cf. Aristeides, XXIV.30.2 (ed.Keil, vol.II): ‘καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐν ἀδείᾳ ποιείσθω τὸ τοὺς καιροὺς ἑτέρους εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο κοινὸν ἐνθυμείσθω κατὰ πάσης στάσεως ὅτι τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ πέφυκεν ἀποστερεῖν.’

2-3 The best participle I could think of to supply the lines, complying with the rules of syllabification and the context is εἰθι|<sup>3</sup>c]μένῃ. Of course this is a mere conjecture.

κατά could make a good restoration at the end of l.3, cf. LSJ, s.v.B.IV, p.883.

4 λο.: the most satisfactory supplement I can come up with is λόγι-ον/α, meaning oracle/s (LSJ, s.v., p.1056) or a form of λογίζομαι, probably a participle in accord with πόλις. Alternatively, Λοκ[ρῶν cannot be excluded.

4-6 The drift of these lines could be that many times in the (mythical?) past in the event of a plague, this particular city used to address Apollo(?) for the salvation through an oracle.

5 πρὸ λοιμ[ο]ῦ should make a good reading. Presumably, the preposition does not denote time in this context but cause or motive (cf. LSJ, s.v.III.2, p.1465). A significant number of inquiries to the Delphic Oracle in the grip of a plague both in the mythical and historical past are attested and can be found in Parke and Wormell (PW), 1956, and Fontenrose (Q, L), 1978, prompted by whole states through eponymous or anonymous



messengers; cf. for instance the mythical cases PW155/L145, PW210/L45, PW542/L133, PW572/Q133 referring to the Athenians, PW150/L19, PW551/L173-4 on behalf of the Thebans, PW405/L98, PW530/L126 for the Spartians and further PW207/L42 (Orchomenians), PW332/L157 (Locrians), PW376/L88 (Pierians), PW386/L92 (Argives), PW398/add. (Corinthians), PW556/L134 (Achaean), PW570/L140 (Delphians); as historical instances could be mentioned, PW13/Q65, PW113/Q164, PW125/Q189, for the Athenians, PW114/Q174 and PW223/Q54 (Spartians), PW237/Q72 (Amphictyons), PW58/Q107 (Delphians), PW487/Q3 (Peloponnesians) and PW158/Q190 (Cleonians). Apparently, the Athenians among all Greeks who could have been members of the Delphic Amphictyony, are recorded to have made most inquiries for relief from a plague to the Delphian oracle.

τὸν παρν[ : the possibilities are limited to Παρνα(σ)όν, Παρνάσιον, and the rare cult-adjective Παρνόπιον (attested only in Paus.1.24.8), and less likely to a personal name, as Παρνάσιος, Παρνακός, Παρνάτιος, Παρνοπίδας, see *LGN III B*, s.vv.

6 αἰτῶν is the plausible reconstruction, while αἰτῶ v. makes an unconvincing reading. The subject of the participle is not obvious. Πόλις would have been expected, but it does not fit, and I consider very unlikely the possibility of an error (αἰτῶν instead of αἰτοῦσα). It could refer to a city-delegate to ask an inquiry to the Delphian oracle on behalf of the whole city, or even to the speaker himself.

The ensuing tall letter may suggest φήμην or less likely the poetic φάτιν.

6-10 The apparently complicated syntax does not facilitate at all the recovery of the sense of these lines, which could perhaps be that an avenger (ἔγδικος) from heaven used to send a plague upon the sons of the older generation as a punishment for something.

7 Acceptable reconstructions τῶν πάλαι/ παλαιῶν (cf. Fr.3.9?), even παλαιτέρων/ παλαιτάτων/ παλαιγενῶν.

7-8 των: this could be the ending of a genitive in accord with the same case in the preceding line, e.g. a hypothetical restoration could be a noun like πολι]τῶν or a participle like ἡμαρτηκό]των, or the ending of a masculine participle matching with ἔγδικος, e.g. αἰ]τῶν; alternatively the option of the genitive plural of the determinate article cannot be completely excluded.

8 ἔγδικος: (l. ἔκδικος) a rather rare word, not attested in the classical orators.

ἀπ' οὐραν[οῦ/ ίου/ ίων/ όθεν?

9 [.]voco[.]: the remnants admitting a number of conjectures, which cannot be regarded as more than speculative. Noc could equally be the beginning or the ending of a Greek word; in the former case (and more likely?) νόco[v] would fit the space and probably the context of λοιμός (ii.5), ἰῶνται (i.2) and ὑγιαί[νειν (i.3-4).

ἐφ' υἱούc: perhaps denoting hostility.

ἵν[[α]]α[: the first was struck through to avoid hiatus.

10 ὦc iv: this suits nicely as the verb of the ἵνα clause in l.9. Its subject is open to conjecture: οἱ παλαιοί, οἱ υἱοί, other?

ε. . . [.?].δ[: the first traces could be restored as εἰ/ ἐπ[ί]? The restoration ἐπεί γὰ[ρ] (cf. ii.7) is not acceptable, since it would make a cramped reading. For the rest of the line I would suggest ἐ]π[ε]ιδ[ή/ ἀν/, π[α]ιδεc/αc.

11 τέραc: τέραc could fit the context, meaning divine sign or monster/ monstrous birth, see LSJ s.v., p.1776, but I doubt that it refers here to πύθων, the dragon killed by Apollo. Other possibilities include for instance ἐτέραc, προτέραc, πατέραc, μητέραc, the last two, especially the first of them, perhaps in relation to υἱούc (ii.9) and π[α]ιδεc/αc, if this restoration has any chance of being correct.

κοίταιc: not very common in prose texts; the dative is puzzling and should possibly be considered either a rare dative of place without preposition or the object of (the following?) verb. I would consider implausible a different articulation as  $\tau\epsilon\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\iota$  .

ἐχ: expected could be a form of ἔχω, of ἐχθρός or its derivatives, or perhaps an imperfect form of χρῶμαι.

11-12: presumably ἀ]διαφορεῖν

12 αμ.: perhaps ἀμήχανον or even ἀμωγέπως.

13 ς[ὺ]ν ἀλλήλ[οιc would make a good reading.

14 After δῆμον, ἱνα [γ]ινώ[σκ could be restored.

15 Possible articulations would be cιc τιθε. but a short form of τίθεμαι does not seem to satisfy the traces, or cιc τι θε.(?), perhaps for θεός.

15-6 My impression is that καθάπερ ἔχοντες may have been written twice in succession and the scribe chose to delete the first. If this suggestion is acceptable, the line length could be estimated at about 6 cm., which would accommodate about 21-22 letters per line.

17 The traces would fit the reading τῇ[ν] συν[εῖ]δη[σιν, attested only in post-classical literature (see LSJ s.v.).

18 ]ων: most likely only one letter, a large initial τ was lost in the gap (cf. Fr.1.ii.14). The plausible reconstructions would be τῶνδε, τωνδί which is also a frequent form in oratory. Other less likely options could be το |<sup>18</sup> c]ῶνδ[ε or a masculine proper name in -ώνδασ.



]ωτῶ[: a form of ἐρωτῶ, preceded by elision could make sense.

19 The reading τοὺς θε[οπ]ρ[ό]πο[υς] satisfies the traces.

20 Plausible restorations: αἰτήσο[υσι], αἰτήσο[νται], αἰτήσο[ντες], αἰτησό[μενοι].

Fr.2:

9 ασε: ]αc ε[ or ἄσε[, the latter perhaps suggesting a form of ἄσεβής or ἄσέβεια (cf. Fr.1.col.i.1).

Fr.3:

4 Probably the poetic adjective μό]ρσιμ[ον] is to be reconstructed.

6 ]ερχε[: certainly a form of ἔρχομαι or of one of its compounds, perhaps ερχε[σθα]ι.

κερα.: if this reading of these two syllables is correct and they are the beginning of a word, a form of κεραυνός would be an acceptable restoration.

7 ]χρη̃ν or χρη̃ναι could perhaps be restored. After ν the remains are hard to explain. If they were placed in the margin, they could be marginal utilitarian sigla, kind of anchorae, resembling in shape the ones attested in P.Oxy.I 16 (I.A.D.) and IV 696 (see McNamee, 1982, Table 2). A faint possibility would be that they are a kind of design which would serve as strong punctuation.

8 -ηρεῖσθε or -ηρησθε could be read at the end of the line.

9 παλαιῶν is a plausible restoration.

να[ could perhaps be supplied as follows: ναός, νᾶ[μα, νά[ματα, νά[πη, νά[πος or even a form of ναοποιός. Ναοποιοί technically were mainly financial officials concerned with the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo and appointed by the different states of the Amphictyony, see Roux, 1979, pp.95-120, and Lefèvre, 1998, pp.263-6.

10 δράκοντι (l. δράκοντι): it could be a reference to the dragon killed by Apollo at Delphi, or alternatively to the ancient Athenian law-writer.

11 προγόνοι or ἀπρόγονοι with a possible addition of final c which could have been lost in the gap.

παῖι: the initial letter of the word could have been lost in the preceding hole. The 'best' suggestions I could come up with are either the third person subjunctive of παίω, or a form of the epic παιήων, both a song and a title to Apollo, with the second ι being irrational; both would semantically match with ὑγιαίνειν (Fr.1.i.3) and ἰώνται (l.i.2), cf. Eust. ad *Il.*22.393-4: ὅτι ὁ ἀδόμενος παιήων καὶ παιὰν ἐλέγετο. Εὐρημα δέ, φαcίν Ἀπόλλωνος ὁ τοιοῦτος παιὰν, ἐξευρεθεῖς μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοῦ ἐν Πυθοῖ δράκοντος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Πύθιος δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι. Ἰctέον ὅτι προυπάρχει μὲν ῥῆμα παίω, τὸ θεραπεύω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ γίνεται Παιάων ὄνομα ὡς Μαχάων, καὶ δηλοῖ τὸν θεραπευτικόν....

Fr.4:

5 The remains of this line could be considered part of a form of active aorist participle of a contracted verb in -οω or last part of third person plural active aorist indicative of the same group of verb (].νωcαν τ); the articulation ].ν ὡc ἀντ[ should also be considered as an option.

6 The reading θ[εc]πίcη would make sense in the context of oracles.

At the end of the line τ[ὸ] θε[ῖον or ]θε[ός could perhaps be supplied.

8 Suggestions for the articulation of this line could be: ἥρξαντ[o] Πυθαῖ[ο]v?/

πυθαῖζ[ειν/ a form of Πυθαictής, Πυθαίc, Πυθαῖδ] α /Πυθαῖc[ τ-άc/ήν, however, none of these nouns, all related to the Apollonian cult, are common.

9 A possibility could be ἐπικ[η]ρ[ύξ]α[ι] which would fit both traces and space.

10 A reading as Θ]εcπιάc (or unlikely K]αcπιάc) α[ι]ρειν would match the traces.

11 οὐδ]έν could perhaps be read at the beginning of the line.

12 ]ως τὸν καταcτή[σαντα would well match the traces.

13 ]καὶ καθαρά [ν]ῦν ὕ[δ]ατα could be an acceptable reading. Perhaps reference to a purification after a plague would not be unexpected, or to the foundation myth of the temple at Delphi, in particular to the slaying of the dragon by Apollo at a spring there, probably the Castalian, see *h.Hom.Ap.*300f.

14 νόcτιμοι δὲ καρποι.], is not attested before, cf. only Posidon. *Fragm.* 52b, then repeated by Sextus Empiricus, *Adv.Mathem.*7.17, with reference to a simile made by Stoics for philosophy and its divisions (*SVF* II 38), who ὁμοιοῦci τὴν φιλοcoφίαν παγκάρπῳ ἄλωῇ, ἵνα τῇ μὲν ὑψηλότητι τῶν φυτῶν εἰκάζεται τὸ φυσικόν, τῷ δὲ νοcτίμῳ τῶν καρπῶν τὸ ἠθικόν, τῇ δὲ ὀχυρότητι τῶν τειχῶν τὸ λογικόν (liken philosophy to a garden rich in its variety of fruit comparing natural philosophy to the height of the plants, ethics to the abundance of the crops and logic to the strength of the walls, transl. by Kidd, 1999, p.147). Cf. also Hsch.ι 603 and ο 828, where νόcτιμον is cited as a synonym of πολυφόρον, καρποφόρον, ἄφθονον; Strabo 9.3.12, who acknowledges that in this section he quotes Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F31b): ... Ἀπόλλωνα, τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα, ἡμεροῦν τοὺc ἀνθρώπουc ἀπό τε τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν βίων. The option of a different articulation of the line should also be taken into account, e.g. ]ν oc/ ]voc τι μοι....

Fr.5:

5 A mere conjecture: τῇ]ν Ἐλάτ[ειαν. Cf. the famous passage on the impact of the capture of Elateia on the Athenians in 339 B.C. in *Dem.*18.168ff and *Diod.*16.84.2ff. Also on the seizure of Elateia by Philip, see Philoch.*FGrHist* 328 F56 and *Aeschin.*3.140, *Did. In Dem.*11.40ff., *Diod.*16.84.1, *Plu.Dem.*18.1. A form of ἐλάττων should be certainly considered an option.



Fr.6:

3 Perhaps  $\pi\upsilon\theta$ [ .

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## B. DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

### IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

#### 14

#### DECLARATION OF SHEEP

73/62 (b)

11.5 x 31.8 cm.

30/1/3 B.C.

Plate XI.

A sheep-return addressed to the strategus, the royal scribe and a toparch of the Oxyrhynchites nome. This declaration belongs to the first of the three chronologically successive groups to which Avogadro (1935, pp.168-9) has divided the livestock - returns. In this first period extended till the reign of Claudius, only one declaration should have been made annually in the last days of Τῶβι or the first days of Μεχέρ (January-February). Only the adult animals were declared -the young not subject to taxation were mentioned as followers of the flock- without being compared with the previous year's number of cattle (see also Balconi, 1984, pp.47-8). A fairly large number of such documents were found throughout Roman Egypt,<sup>26</sup> but only three pieces from the B.C. period, namely P.Oxy.Hels.8 (9 B.C.) and P.IFAO I 5 (8-7 B.C.) (publ. by Boyaval, 1970, pp.12-3) from the Oxyrhynchite, and BGU XVI 2586 (5 B.C.) from the Heracleopolite. However, since the diction differs in the various nomes (see D. Hagedorn, 1976, pp.159-165), only the declarations originated in the Oxyrhynchite, and in particular the ones dated to the first centuries B.C. and A.D. can be considered as parallels.

The cross-examination of the parallel texts showed that this papyrus is the oldest of this kind to preserve the names and titles of the magistrates to whom it is addressed. In the other Oxyrhynchite declarations of cattle preserved from the reign of Augustus, that is, P.Oxy.Hels.8, P.IFAO I 5, and P.Berl.Möller 7 = SB IV 7344 = CPJ II 412 (8-9 A.D.), the upper part of the document is lost. In the P.IFAO return the lower part of the

papyrus, where the signatures are normally written is also lost, while in P.Oxy.Hels.8 that is the only part preserved, but in a mutilated condition, so that the identities of the three magistrates, who appear to sign, are concealed. As is already observed in the introduction of P.Oxy.Hels.8, p.17, the convention in the declarations up to 60 A.D. is to include only one signature, and this, with the further exception of P.Berl.Möller 7,<sup>27</sup> belongs to the toparch, even if the return is addressed to the strategus of the nome. Moreover, up to the same date the returns that preserve the initial part are all addressed to one magistrate, mostly to the strategus, but also to the toparch (see the list drawn up by Balconi, 1984, pp.36-37),<sup>28</sup> while from the reign of Nero they could be addressed to more than one magistrates (Balconi, 1984, p.45). In our declaration three magistrates are addressed and probably two sign, possibly the strategus and the royal scribe through an agent. The verbs in use are ἀναγράφω and καταχωρίζω, which means that the verb ἐεσημείωμαι found in the declarations from Roman Oxyrhynchus, with the exception of P.Oxy.Hels.8 and P.Princ.II 24 (21 A.D.), is not employed. In this return the signatures may have been written by the same hand, which is very similar to the one of the main text, and this may be the one of the τοπάρχης, who does not seem to appear independently in the signatures. From this aspect this papyrus, if this remark has any chance of being correct, is to the best of my knowledge a unique case.

Perhaps this could be of some help to identify, whether this is a copy of the declaration, meant to be kept in the state archives or to be returned to the declarant. According to Avogadro (1935, pp.148-9), the decisive point is the address: the copies to be kept in the archives are addressed to a single magistrate, while an address to more magistrates reveals the declarant's copy. However, Balconi, (1984, pp.42 and 45) argues that the presence or not of signatures should be decisive of the function of a copy of any declaration of this kind. In any case, if a comment should be attempted, since there is a multiple address, signatures, and there is not a progressive number, belonging to the τόμος συγκολλησίμος (Balconi, 1984, pp.42 and 45), the copy could be the one

<sup>26</sup> For a list. see P.Heid.IV 302, pp.76-9, with the addition of P.Mich. Koenen (XVIII) 782 and all the livestock - returns mentioned there. on p.198.

<sup>27</sup> The person who signs the declaration in P.Berl.Möller 7 is still disputable. see *BL* II, p.134. VI p.23. VIII, p.63.

<sup>28</sup> BGU XVI 2578-2587. the early declarations from Heracleopolite. differ from this pattern. since they are all addressed, but 2586 which is addressed to Apollonius, deputy of the strategus Heracleides, to two people from the same office, namely Heracleides and Apollonius, deputies of Eireinaios, supervisor of the pasture-tax of the nome for that year.



returned to the declarant. As far as the rest of the text of the declaration is concerned, the typical formulas regarding the time and the place are followed, see Balconi, 1984, p.39, and D. Hagedorn, 1976, p.159. In general, the papyrus published below does not offer new information regarding either the registration or the taxation of livestock in Roman Egypt. Apart from some points of divergence from contemporary and slightly later registrations, we are supplied with the names of an early strategus and a royal scribe in the Oxyrhynchite nome (see n.1 below).

The papyrus is of good quality, and almost half of the side which bears the text is left blank, as well as the back. The piece shows top and left-hand side margin of 2.1 and 2.5 cm. respectively, while the bottom margin measures c.12.8 cm. A kollesis is evident almost in the middle of the document (about 6 cm. from the right edge). The papyrus seems to have been folded three times lengthwise. The text has been damaged by holes; there is a large hole starting at the bottom left-hand side of the main text and reaching ll.15-6, and several long holes, among them two large ones, running vertically, along the three folds. The text runs parallel to the fibres. Letters are joint wherever possible, common abbreviations (e.g. of καί) are used, as well as a few symbols (e.g. ll.1,5,15). Superpositio is used in the signatures. The first letter of each line is written larger. The address is conventionally written separately at the top, and extends further to both margins. The hands are skilled cursives, typical of the early Roman Period. In similar hands are written P.Oxy.VII 1061 (Seider I 22, Tafel 15), P.Ryl.II 183(a) (Seider I 23, Tafel 16), dated to 22 B.C. and 16 A.D. respectively, and P.Lond.III 1171 dated to 8 B.C. (*Greek Papyri of the British Museum. Facsimiles* III, plates 14 and 15).

Διογένει ς[ρα]τηγῶι καὶ Διον(υσίῳ) β(ασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ) καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ[ι  
τοπάρχῃ

παρὰ Χ[εν]αμοῦτος τῆς Πέτρωνος. ἀπο

γράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κζ (ἔτος) Κ(αί)καρος τὰ ὑ

5 πάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) πρ(ό)βατα) κ, κ(αὶ)

τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρνας, ἃ νεμήσεται

περὶ Παίμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας κ(αὶ) δι' ὃ

λου τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπιμεμειγμένα τοῖς τοῦ

2.H.     π]αρά Διογέ(νους) στρα(τηγοῦ) ἀ[ν]αγέγρ( ) πρόβ(ατα)  
           κ̣ (ἔτους) κζ Κ(αί)α[ρο]ς, Μεχ(εῖρ) ε̄.

15 3.Η.? κα]τεχώριξεν παρὰ Διογυ[αίου] β(ασιλικοῦ γραμματέως)  
ἀναγεγρα( ) πρόβα(τα) εἴκοσι (γίνεται) [πρόβατα] κ.  
(ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος, Μεχ(εῖρ) ε.

1 Διον β 4 κζ 5 ρ̂ 6 -τϣ 7 ϣ 8 I.ἐπιμεμιγμένα 11 υ  
13 Διογ̣στρ̣ α[ν]αγεγρ̣προ[[β]]<sup>β</sup> 14 κζ κ με<sup>x</sup> 15 β 16 αναγεγρ̣προβ<sup>λ</sup>  
| 17 κζ; με<sup>x</sup>

‘To Diogenes, strategus, and Dionysius, royal scribe, and Apollonius, toparches, from Ch[en]a mous, daughter of Petron. I register for the current 27<sup>th</sup> year of Caesar the twenty sheep I own, total 20 sheep, and the lambs that follow them, which will pasture in the neighbourhood of Paimis in the western toparchy and throughout the entire nome, mixed with the sheep of my husband Thonis, son of Patoiphis, having as shepherd Leucadios, son of Sosibios; I will also pay the proper tax upon them. Farewell’.

2.H. '[ ]', agent of Diogenes, strategus has registered twenty sheep.

The 27<sup>th</sup> year of Caesar, Mecheir, 5'.

3.H.? ‘The agent of Dionysius, the royal scribe has entered  
the registered twenty sheep, total 20 [sheep].’

The 27<sup>th</sup> year of Caesar, Mecheir, 5'.

1 The tenure of the office of strategus in the Oxyrhynchite by a Διογένης has not been previously known. Διογένης becomes the only known strategus of Oxyrhynchus between '[ ]ὁ καὶ Θεῶν συγγενὴς καὶ στρατηγός' in P.Würz.5 (31 B.C.) and Ἡρόστρατος in P.Oxy.inv.34 4B.73/B (1-2)a.1 (16 A.D.) (publ. by Sullivan, 1973, pp.5-12).

The 'symbol' used for βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς is really notable. This title is normally less radically abbreviated.

Διονύσιος, βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς of the Oxyrhynchites occurs only here and is placed between Διοσκουρίδης of P.Ryl.IV 603, introd. (7 B.C.), and his namesake of P.Oxy.IX 1182, 2, 7, 13 (13 A.D.), see Bastianini - Whitehorne, 1987, p.140.

1-2 Ἀπολλώνιος τοπάρχης of the lower toparchy attested in P.Oxy.II 356 dated to 27 A.D.,<sup>29</sup> and in P.Oxy.Hels.9, an official report of 26 A.D., cannot apparently be identified with the one in our piece, but perhaps with Ἀπολ( ) το(πάρχης) of the lower toparchy, who signs in P.Oxy.LV 3778,37 (28/1/21 A.D.). For this last identification, see P.Oxy.LV 3778, n.37. For such duties of the toparch with regard to taxation, see Oertel, 1917, p.163, Wallace, 1938, p.294, and P.Oslo III 112, where further references are given.

3 Χ[...].μοῦτος τῆς Πέτρωνος: the restoration of the name of this Egyptian lady is difficult. The only attested name which could fit is Χενάμου[...], found in the genitive in P.Harris 142,3, (126 A.D.) and included in the *Register* by Jones - Whitehorne, 1983, n.876, as Χενάμοῦ[νις], and not Χενάμοῦς, cf. also P.Oxy.LIX 3997,41 (III-IV): ἀσπάζου Χενάμοῦν τὴν γραῖαν. In P.Tebt.II 401,7 (early first century A.D.) Χινεμμοῦς is attested, but this name belongs to a man, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, where it is indicated that the name is indeclinable, while the editor of the papyrus disagrees and corrects the genitive from Χινεμμοῦς to Χινεμμοῦτος.

<sup>29</sup> P.Oxy.II descr. 356, 350, 352, 354 and 355 are published by Balconi, 1984, pp.49-60.



This declaration of sheep is filed by a lady without the help of any κύριος. Cf. also P.Princ.II 24; P.Oxy.II 350 (23 or 25 A.D.); II 355 (41 A.D.); but P.Oxy.LIV 3782,3-4 (172/3), where the declarant, a freedwoman has a guardian, and P.Princ.inv.AM 1099 ii,3-5 = P.Oxy.II 357 descr. (later I A.D.), publ. by Hanson, 1984, pp.64-69. Since we lack specific information regarding the status of all these women, we cannot draw any conclusions, but perhaps for this transaction the assistance of a guardian was not compulsory. This declaration further testifies to the involvement of women in economic activities in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and, at least as it appears in this official document, women could administer their separate property, derived from their paternal family, independent from their husbands; on these issues, see Hobson, 1983, pp.311-321, Kutzner, 1989, pp.111ff., Arjava, 1996, pp.133ff., and Rowlandson, 1998, pp.218ff.

4 K(αί)σαρ: this simple title is by far the most commonly used Augustan dating formula in the papyri, see Bureth, 1964, pp.21-3. On Augustus' titulatures and epithets in general, see Balconi, 1976, pp.213-5, Geraci, 1983, pp.146ff., and Kienast, <sup>2</sup>1996, p.61.

5 πρόβατα is abbreviated in two ways in this papyrus. In l.5 π is placed above ρ, forming a kind of symbol, as in P.Oxy.II 356,18 and XXXVIII 2850,8, while in l.16 is written προβ<sup>L</sup>, as in P.Oxy.Hels.8,6 and P.Oxy.II 352,12; 356,17. In l.13 the scribe wrote a small β next to the ο, which he then erased, and marked in superpositio. For other ways of abbreviating πρόβατα in the papyri, see Balconi, 1984, p.53, n.7.

εἴκοσι: a relatively small flock of sheep including no goats, cf. the list in Balconi, 1984, pp.42-3. Goats may have been included in Thonis' flock, with which the sheep of this Egyptian lady would pasture. For the advantages of the presence of even a couple of goats in a flock of sheep, mainly that they serve as leaders of it, see Balconi, 1990, pp.121-2, and Keenan, 1989, pp.179-180.

6 τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρναι: Krüger in his commentary on P.Ross.Georg.II 13,2ff. translated it 'der Herde Folgen', and this translation has prevailed upon the ones given by Preisigke ('hinterher dazu geboren') and LSJ ('τοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦσι ἄρνασι: of the offspring of the cattle'). However, Boyaval, 1970, p.12, and Parassoglou, 1971,

pp.51-2, returned to the latter translation. This last meaning is excluded in returns which mention a definite number of young, e.g. PSI I 40,1; P.Corn.15,15; P.Ross.Georg.II 13,3-4. On the translation of this expression as Krüger suggested, see Avogadro, 1935, p.171, n.4, CPJ III 482 = P.Oxy.II 353, n.9-10, P.Lugd.Bat.XIX 8, n.1-2, and P.Lugd.Bat.XXII A, p.105, where the demotic equivalent, which translates ‘leurs petits qui sont sous leurs pattes, c’est à dire qui les suivent au pied’, is discussed.

ἄ νεμήεται: D. Hagedorn, 1976, p.159, underlines that ἄ refers to the *number* of the registered animals.

7 Πάϊμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας: see Pruneti, 1981, p.130. Although its spelling varies in the various documents, this particular form has not been attested before, cf. P.Stras.V 390,1, and n.1 (1<sup>st</sup> half III A.D.): ‘Paéme se trouve dans la λιβὸς τοπαρχία du nome ...l’ orthographie la mieux attestée est Παεῖμικ’.

8 ἐπιμεμειγμένα (l.ἐπιμεμιγμένα) after δι’ ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ as in P.Oxy.II 245, 15. The flock of sheep belongs to two people, in this case to a married couple, but is grazed by one shepherd; see Balconi, 1984, p.40, for the different positions of this expression within the declaration formula.

9 Θῶνιος τοῦ Πατοΐφιος: this Θῶνικ could be identified with the son of Πατοΐφικ (n.3148 in Jones - Whitehorne, 1983) mentioned in P.IFAO I 13,29 (23 B.C.). Another possibility would be the Θῶνικ of P.Oxy.XII 1457,4, dated to 4/3 B.C (n.5101 in Jones - Whitehorne). A declarant of sheep by the same common name in the Oxyrhynchites is attested in P.Berl. Möller 7,3.

10 διὰ νομέως: the same expression is found in all the parallel texts, apart from P.Berl.Möller 7, which has ὑπὸ νομέως.

The name of the shepherd is normally followed by the name of the village and the toparchy, in which he is registered (λαογραφομένου/ ἀναγραφομένου εἰς/περὶ the name of the village or epoikion). The only exceptions from the Oxyrhynchites appear to be the much later PSI I 40,9 (129 A. D.), P.Oxy.I 74,23-4 (116 A.D.), and P.Princ.II



28,13-4 (219 A.D.), for which see Sijpesteijn, 1987, pp.135-136 (= *BL IX*, pp.177 and 218), where he justifies the absence of this detail from these three documents: in the first one the shepherd is the declarant himself, while in the second and third ones the names of the shepherds are not in all likelihood given. However, since none of Sijpesteijn's arguments could be applied to our piece, this appears the only exception to this Oxyrhynchite 'norm', perhaps due to its early date.

11 τάξομαι: the τέλος was paid off after the end of the pasture period, therefore the future tense is used.

τὸ καθήκον τέλος (sc.προβάτων), cf. O.Tait.I 114, p.20 (158 B.C.). Wallace identifies it with the ἐννόμιον 'a license-tax on sheep and goats which involves the privilege of pasturing the animals on unleased public lands throughout the nome', paid by the individual owners of cattle (1938, pp.83, 86-7, 385 n.7). This view is supported by O.Leid.41, a receipt for sheep, goats, wool and akanth( ), dated to 26/12/8 A.D., and O.Leid.50, a later receipt for tax on sheep and wool (30/7/37). Unfortunately, the estimation of the amount paid per animal at a given year is not possible. In the former ostrakon the number of sheep and goats is given, but not the sum of money paid, evidently there was a well-known amount *per capita* (see O.Leid.41, introd.). In the latter case, the amount of money paid is given, that is 13 silver drachmas, but not the number of animals. Ἐννόμιον is actually mentioned in some returns of livestock, e.g. P.IFAO I 5,2; BGU XVI 2578,2; 2580,4; 2581,2; 2582,3; 2583,3; 2584,3; 2585,3; 2587,3; P.Oxy.LV 3779,7-8 and 21-22 (20/21 A.D.); P.Amh.II 73,7 (129/130 A.D.). In these last two instances the word ἐννόμιον has replaced the word τέλος in the common formula καὶ τάξομαι τὸ καθήκον τέλος. For the nature of this tax, see also WO I, pp.191-2, and Johnson, 1936, pp.561 and 569.

12 εὐτύχει is a standard part of the formula, and as here, is normally written rapidly.

13 An agent may have signed on behalf of the strategus, whose name may be lost in the gap. The verb could be reconstructed as ἄ[ν]αγέγρα(φα) or ἄ[ν]αγέγρα(φε), while the reading π]αρά Διογέ(νει) στρα(τηγῶ) ἄ[ν]αγέγρα(πται) πρόβ(ατα) κ would be also possible; however, it would leave with no reason much space on the left of the signature.



Moreover, parallel texts from the Oxyrhynchites, in which the final part of the declaration is preserved, appear to support the first reading, cf. P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851 (60 A.D.); II 246 = W.Chr.247 (66 A.D.); P.Köln II 86 (98/99 A.D.). The verb ἀναγράφω is also preserved in P.Princ.II 24,23; P.Oxy.II 352 (28 A.D.), P.Oxy.II 356 and possibly P.Oxy.Hels.8 only in the signature of τοπάρχης, however, the verb most frequently found is σημειοῦσθαι, cf. P.Oxy.II 245,23; P.Oxy.II 351,19; P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2850,24; P.Oxy.LV 3778,37. Finally, I have considered another option regarding the pattern of this signature, namely that it could follow that of the second one; in that case a ‘registration-verb’ and not a name and /or title may have been lost in the gap before π]αρὰ, and ὁ[ν]αγέγρ( ) may be read as ὁ[ν]αγεγρα(μμένα) (see below n.15).

14 Μεχεῖρ ε̅: all declarations of livestock were submitted either in the last days of Τῶβι or the first days of Μεχεῖρ, cf. the list of the ἀπογραφὰι προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν in chronological order from the first Roman period in Balconi, 1984, pp.36-7.

15 κα]τ̅εχώριε v: the verb καταχωρίζω is also extant in P.Ross.Georg.II 13,15 [ὄμνυ(μί) με καταχωρων (sic)], P.Mich.Koenen 782,10 [κατακεχώ(ριεται)], and BGU XVI 2578-2587 [in the formula (ἀξιῶ) ἐὰν φαίνεται καταχωρίσαι], 2586,18 [κατακεχ(ώρηκα): l. -ρικά, see HC. Youtie, 1978, pp.179-183]. This verb is considered more expected for notification of the declaration of camels, see Avogadro, 1935, p.173 and n.4. Surprisingly, there is no trace of the subject of the verb, that is the name or/and title of the officer who entered the registration to the records, cf. also BGU XVI 2586,18. Either it was never written and the agent(s) signed anonymously, or, the signatures are actually by the same person, therefore there was no need of repeating names or/and titles; in this last case perhaps καί, probably abbreviated, could have been written before κα]τ̅εχώριε v.

16 ἀναγεγρα( ): I would restore the form as ἀναγεγρα(μμένα), without being able to exclude the possibilities of ἀναγέγρα-(φα)/-(φε)/-(πται). Oddly, no trace remains of Ἀπολλώνιος τοπάρχης in the signatures, who would be also expected to sign the declaration. This observation, along with the fact that no name seems to precede the verb κα]τ̅εχώριε v (l.15), led me to the hypothesis that the τοπάρχης may have signed

twice, both as the agent of the strategus and the royal scribe. His name and his title, probably both abbreviated, since there is not much space, or only his title -cf. for instance, P.Alex.Giss. 4.11,15 (140 A.D.), where the signatures do not seem to include the names of the strategus and the royal scribe, and P.IFAO I 21 n.1, (54-8 A.D.)- may have been lost in the hole of the papyrus in l.13. However, this hypothesis would suggest that both signatures are written by one hand, which I am not sure that is the case. Both palaeography and the double entry of the date (ll.13, 17) do not lend much support to this assumption.

After (γίνεται) in l.16 an abbreviated form of πρόβατα was most likely lost in the gap.

## SUPPLEMENTARY DECLARATION OF SHEEP

73/63 (a)

6.8 x 17.8 cm.

17/7/67 A.D.

Plate XII.

Another sheep registration addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. This return belongs to the second group according to Avogadro's division (1935, pp.168-9, see also Balconi, 1984, pp.47-8), chronologically extended from the end of Claudius' reign (cf. P.Oxy.II 297, a letter concerning a supplementary return of lambs, dated to 54 A.D.) almost till the end of the first century A.D. (the earliest example of the third group of declarations of livestock, namely P.Köln II 86, is dated to 98/99 A.D.). In the second period two declarations should have been made annually, the first normally in Μεχείρ and the second in Ἐπίφ. The former was the 'main' one, through which the adult animals and their kids were declared, while in the latter, the 'supplementary', the young born after the first registration had to be registered. From this almost half century, when this type of livestock-registration was in force, only five more declarations have been preserved, all from the Oxyrhynchites: three 'main' ones, namely, P.IFAO I 21 (54-68 A.D.), P.Ross.Georg.II 13 (Nero's time) and P.Köln IV 188 (I A.D.), and two 'supplementary' ones, P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851 (60 A.D.) and P.Oxy.II 246 = W.Chr. 247 (66 A.D.).<sup>30</sup> Apparently, this return is a supplementary one, therefore, in strict terms the last two mentioned papyri should be considered as its parallels, and it is actually the latest precisely dated example of a declaration from the second period.

The papyrus is of moderate quality, and has been damaged by several small holes and fading (in ll.9-12). At the top the piece shows a generous margin of c.3 cm., and at the left-hand side of about 1 cm. The papyrus breaks off at the bottom and at the right side. The text of the declaration runs parallel to the fibres. On the back two words and one incomplete run downwards along the fibres, presumably the beginning of the date. There are no remaining traces to suggest fading at this point of the piece, therefore, the reason for the abrupt stop of the writing cannot be explained.

<sup>30</sup> Additionally, the *descriptum* P.Oxy.VI 962 in all likelihood belongs to the second period, since it is assigned to the reign of Claudius or Nero.



Two hands can be recognized (see below, n.20). The words on the back give the impression that they are written by the first hand. Both are typical documentary hands of the first century A.D. The first is more upright, almost strictly bilinear and less ligatured, with smaller letters, which tend to diminish as the writing progresses. The second hand displays a quicker execution, normal for this part of a declaration, by linking the letters in a cursive 'cluster'. In a similar hand, especially to the second one, is written P.Ryl.II 119, dated to 54-67 A.D. (Seider I, Tafel 25), and P.Lond.II 154 (68 A.D.), II 140 (69-79 A.D.), II 281 (66 A.D.), II 282 (69 A.D.), seen in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Facsimiles* II, plates 20, 21, 19 (for both II 281 and 282) respectively, and III 897, dated to 84 A.D. (plate 27 in *Facsimiles* III). Between ll.19 and 20 before the second hand takes up, a line of about 2 cm. long, having the form of a dipole obelismene, marks the end of a section.

- Παπίσκω στρα(τηγῶ)  
παρὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ Κα  
[ρ]απίωνος τοῦ Τρύφω  
νος μητρὸς Ἑρμιόνης τῆ[ς  
5 Κεζαρίου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων).  
τῶ ἐνεστῶτι ιγ (ἔτει) Νέρωνο[ς  
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ος] Σεβαστοῦ  
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
ἀπεγραψάμην ἐπὶ τοῦ Παν  
10 γᾶ Εἰσίου τῆς ἄνω τοῦ παρχία[ς  
ἃς ἔχω . . ψα[.]ν ἀπὸ γονῆς  
προβ[άτ]ων ἐρίφους τέσσαρες,  
οἷς προσεγένοντο εἰς τὴν  
δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ἔρι  
15 φοι δύο, οὓς ἀπογραφόμε  
νος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης  
ὁμνύω Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον  
Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικ[ὸν]

αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν ἐψε(ῦσθαι).

>—

- 20 2.H.      Στέφανος Σαραπίωνος  
τοῦ Τρύφωνος ὁμώνω  
καὶ τὸν ὄρκον. .?τ. . . . .c  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.  
(ἔτους) ιγ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
- 25            Καί[ς]αρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπειφ κγ.  
. . . . .

Back 1.H.    ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶ

1 στρ<sup>ς</sup>    5 l. Καισαρίου; Οξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup>    6 l.    9-10 l. Παγγᾶ    10 l. Ἰσιείου    12  
l. τέσσαρας    19 εψ<sup>ε</sup>    24 l.

‘To Papiscus, strategus, from Stephanus son of Sarapion, son of Tryphon, his mother being Hermione, daughter of Kaisarios, from the city of Oxyrhynchi. In the present 13<sup>th</sup> year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator I registered at the Pagga Isieion of the upper toparchy the four kids in my possession. . . . . born from sheep to which were added in the second registration two kids, which I am registering in the same village, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I have not lied at all’.

(2.H.) ‘Stephanus, son of Sarapion, son of Tryphon have sworn the oath. . . . . wrote for my brother. 13<sup>th</sup> year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator Epeiph the 23<sup>rd</sup>’.

Back (1.H.): ‘In the present

1 Παπίσκω στρατηγῶ: this strategus has been attested in office hitherto in P.Oxy.II 246, 1-2 (66 A.D.), SB XII 11145,4-5 (65/66 A.D.), P.Oxy.I 44,1 (see D.Hagedorn, 1988, pp.153-4) and P.Bing.63,1 (c.66 A.D.), see Bastianini and Whitehorne, 1987, p.88.

Παπίσκος may also be the strategus, to whom the two Oxyrhynchite declarations of sheep in P.Oxy.II 357 descr. = P.Princ.inv.AM 1099 (publ. by Hanson, 1984, pp.64-69) are addressed, although serious objections are raised, already by the editor herself. Papiscus himself may have served as strategus in the Polemon division in the Arsinoites, attested in P.Tebt.II 298,20 = W.Chr.90 dated to 64/5 A.D., see again Bastianini and Whitehorne, 1987, p.43. In P.Oxy.II 246,1 and 28, and P.Oxy.I 44,1 (Hagedorn, 1988, p.154) he bears the title of excosmetes (presumably of Alexandria) and strategus, therefore this official with this rare name probably came from Alexandria (see D. Hagedorn, 1988, p.154 n.6).

Among the parallels only P.Köln IV 188 is addressed to a strategus, while P.Oxy.II 246, P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851 and P.IFAO I 21 are directed to more magistrates besides the strategus, namely to βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς and τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νομόν. On the variety of officials addressed in the declarations of livestock since Nero's time, see Balconi, 1984, p.45.

2-5 None of the members of this family could be identified with people already attested in the papyri, apart from Τρύφων who may be identified with n.5249 of Jones and Whitehorne, *Register*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the members of this family of metropolitans bear mostly Greek names, the mother included, and a rare Latin name (l.5).

3-5 The convention to add, apart from the name of the declarant's father, the names of his mother and his grandfathers' is also followed in P.Oxy.II 246,6-7, but in no other declarations.

5 Κεζαρίου (l.Καιαρίου): to the best of my knowledge this is the earliest attestation of this pretty uncommon name, cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v. Και(ε)κάριος. For σ sporadically written as σζ, see Gignac I, p.124; see also pp.192-3 for the frequent interchange of αι and ε in Latin names and loanwords.

ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχ(ων) (sc. πόλεως): a common formula to denote one's origins. For the restoration to Ὀξυρύχ(ων) and not to Ὀξυρυχ(ειτῶν) is decisive the early date of



the document and the absence of the definite article, see D. Hagedorn, 1973, pp.277-292, in particular 277-281.

6-8 (and 17-19) A very well attested title of Nero employed in dating and oath formulas in Egypt, see Bureth, 1964, pp.34-35, and Seidl I, 1933, p.11.

8 Γερμανικοῦ: for the acquisition of this victory-title by Nero through his adoption by Claudius, see Kneissl, 1969, pp.36-8, and Kienast, <sup>2</sup>1996, p.96.

9-10 τοῦ Παγγᾶ Εἰκίου: the commonest form and most suitable is Ἰκιεῖον Παγγᾶ; the second part of the toponym derives from Ἰκίε, bearing the name of her temple. Moreover, the piece displays the form of the name of the village with transposition, attested in I and II A.D., see Pruneti, 1981, pp.69 and 71-2. The first ι of Εἰκίου is corrected immediately from another letter.

11 ὅς refers to ἐρίφους, which is both masculine and feminine (LSJ and Suppl. s.v.), while οἷς in l.13 to πρόβατα. It is notable that in the declaration even young sheep are distinguished between male and female, cf. van Minnen, 1994, p.99, n.26.

The text cannot be recovered at this point. From the parallels either θρέμματα (cf. P.Oxy.II 246,16) or τῇ πρώτῃ ἀπογραφῇ (P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851,11-2) is expected. Two words may be written, the first of which could end with superpositio.

13 προεγένοντο: the key verb (or participle) in the supplementary returns of livestock is a compound of the prepositions πρός or ἐπί and the verb γίγνομαι or εἰμί: P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851,13-4 (προεγέγονεν), P.Oxy.II 246,18-9 (τοὺς ἐπιγενότας) and P.Ross.Georg.II 13,11 (τὴν προεκομένην γονὴν). Cf. also P.Oxy.II 297,7 (τί σοι προεγένετ.).

18-20 The oath formula is extant in all the parallel declarations, and is common, but not compulsory in the returns of livestock, see Seidl I, 1933, pp.64-5 and 68.

19 μηδὲν ἐψέ(υ)σθαι): the papyrus is faint at this point, therefore the reading is not secure. The last part of the oath formula in the parallel texts, where preserved, is as follows: μηδὲν ὑποϋαλέσθαι in P.Ross.Georg.II 13,10-11; μὴ ὑπεστιά[λθ(αι)] in P.Oxy.II 246,26; μὴ ἐψέ(υ)σθαι in P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851,19.

Normally, a greeting formula is expected after the oath formula as in P.Oxy.II 246 and P.Oxy.XXXVIII 2851.

20ff. *Κτέφανος* was apparently unable even to sign the declaration by acknowledging that he had sworn the oath orally, therefore his brother is doing this on his behalf. Probably, although not stated, *Κτέφανος* was illiterate, at least with respect to Greek; on the issue of illiteracy in Egypt, see HC. Youtie, 1971a, pp.161-176, 1971b, pp.239-261, 1975b, pp.201-221, 1975c, pp.101-8.

22 After τὸν ὄρκον there is some space which could serve as punctuation. The next word written very cursively is plausibly the name of the ὑπογραφεύς, who commonly enough was a close relative, see HC. Youtie, 1975b, pp.205-221. I think I could read these letters either as Πτολεμαῖος, or less likely as Τελέωνης, a male name, attested only in P.Oxy.XII 1499,2 (309 A.D.).

26 This is the second registration (cf.l.14) in late Ἐπίφ. The first took place in late Τῶβι or early Μεχέρ, see Avogadro, 1935, pp.168 and 185ff.

The papyrus breaks off, therefore the officials' signatures are not preserved.

## CENSUS-RETURN

46 5B.51/E (4-5) b

8.1 x 15.4 cm.

76/7 A.D.

Plate XII.

An incomplete declaration addressed to the strategus and royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome, the topogrammateus of the upper toparchy, and the komogrammateus and laographoi of Kerkemounis for the census of 75 A.D. Although the date is not preserved, the document is dated in the first century on palaeographical grounds (see below), while the address to the royal scribe Νίκανδρος (see n.3) has been decisive for the date of the census. There have been preserved more than 300 census-returns from Egypt, among which only four for the census of 75 A.D.: BGU XI 2088, P.Harris I 70 = SB XVIII 13324 (reed. by Hombert-Préaux, 1948, pp.122-6) both from Arsinoe, P.Minnesota inv.1381982, also from Arsinoe,<sup>31</sup> and finally P.Oxy.II 361, of which only a description has been published.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, none of these declarations is complete. In any case, since the entire first century is poorly represented regarding such returns, each newly published return from this century is important, in the sense that it might help to clear up some key aspects of the census in that period.

The form of this census-return exhibits some already noticed features of first century declarations, especially from the Oxyrhynchite nome, mostly omissions of some elements indispensable to later census-returns. Firstly, the mention of the year of the census in the main body of the return is missing, certainly in agreement with the other surviving first century returns from the Oxyrhynchite. The earliest reference to the year of the census within the return comes from the Arsinoite nome in SB I 5661 (34 A.D.), while it is present in P.Harris I 70,8 and is restored accordingly in BGU XI 2088,9-10, the two contemporary returns from Arsinoe. Nor is there any mention of the edict of the

<sup>31</sup> I had no access to this particular piece, of which RS. Bagnall also confirmed the inaccessibility.

<sup>32</sup> For a comprehensive list of census-returns, see Bagnall-Frier, 1994, pp.179-312, with the addition of five census-returns published by Duttonhöfer, 1997, pp.53-78; also P.Mich.inv.252 (publ. by Sijpesteijn, 1995, pp.271f.); P.Berol.inv.25618, (publ. by Nelson, 1995, pp.131f.); P.Prag.II 127 and 128; P.Col.X 262 and 269, P.Bodl.I 17 (five census-returns from a tomos synkollesimos), P.Gr.Pap.Soc.OW 305 (publ. by Papathomas, 1996, p.203). Relevant is the study of Bagnall - Frier - Rutherford, 1997, a



prefect, also omitted in the other first century Oxyrhynchite returns. For a list of census-returns that do mention the edict of the prefect, see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, p.53, n.2. Reference to the edict ordering the census-return appears for the first time for the census of 89 A.D. in P.Mich.inv.4315 = SB XIV 12110 (publ. by HC. Youtie, 1977b, pp.137-8, from Antaiopolite) and in P.Hamb.I 60 = CPJ III 489 (Hermopolis). The term ἀπογραφή is not found in this return, as Grenfell and Hunt had observed in P.Oxy.II, p.209 for the returns before the census-year 61/2 A.D., but it is attested in P.Harris I 70 (and is restored in BGU XI 2088). However, as Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.6, point out ‘generalisations useful in the second century may not be valid in the first century’. This means that despite the relatively late date of the returns, in which all these features are attested for the first time, it should not be concluded that there were not such returns earlier, but at least that there is no surviving reference to them.

Additionally, no certain conclusion could be drawn regarding the date of the filing of such early returns. Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.6, have stressed that no regularity can be observed before 89 in the date of filing the returns. For the census of 75 A.D. in particular, P.Oxy.II 361 was apparently filed in 76/77, however, Bagnall, 1991, p.258, warns that the year-number in the date is uncertain, but there is no indication for the other two declarations for 75 A.D. that the census year has passed, since the exact date is not preserved. But, since the census-returns from the Arsinoites, Oxyrhynchites and several other nomes are normally dated in the year following the decree of the prefect (Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.76-84, and Bagnall-Frier, 1994, pp.16-8), and this fact is also confirmed for the first century Oxyrhynchite returns which preserve the date, namely P.Oxy.II 256, P.Oxy.Hels.10, both dated to 34 A.D., P.Oxy.II 255 = W.Chr.201 (48 A.D.) and P.Yale inv.1545B (publ. by Parassoglou, 1970, pp.87-90) dated to 62 A.D., this Oxyrhynchite first century return is assumed to have been similarly filed in the year following the prefect’s edict, that is in 76/77. More precise dating of the return or of the prefect’s decree should not be attempted (see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, p.78, and Montevicchi, 1976a, pp.76-7).

This document, the only return published so far from Kerkemounis, and actually along with P.Oxy.Hels.10 the only first century returns from villages of the Oxyrhynchites, is a supplementary declaration. An Egyptian lady declares her

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register of census abstracts from 63 households of Ptolemais in 89/90 A.D. (= P.Oxy.Census). Finally,

uninhabited share of property in the village of Kerkemounis, while her residence could have been in a different place, possibly in the metropolis, the place of her origins. Nevertheless, the document does not mention the place of her domicile, for which she may have filed another declaration (cf. Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.15). In this case, it is the location of the property which determines the place where the return had to be filed (cf. Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.70-3, where the later parallels of P.Tebt.II 522 and 566 are cited). The supplementary declaration is indicated through phrases such as *προκαπογράφομαι* or/and a form of the verb *ἀπογράφεσθαι* + *δι' ἑτέρου ὑπομνήματος* in the second and third centuries. From the first century, however, no other declarations of vacant property have survived, which could have been considered as parallels. The closest case is P.Yale inv.1545B (62 A.D.), a complete return made by a veteran of a quarter of a house in Oxyrhynchus, where he lives occasionally. This early declaration of uninhabited property shows that the same logic always laid behind the census-return on behalf at least of the government: the census-return is certainly a declaration of the population, but equally, as the term *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* reveals, a declaration of property (Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.63 and 65). According to Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.14, the function of the declarations of uninhabited property was to assure the government that 'there are no persons to be registered outside of those listed in the sum total of household declarations'.

The loss of the endings and signatures in our declaration prevent us from determining whether this return was original, double or copy (Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.84-6), therefore the correctness of the hypothesis regarding the function of the mark in the first line cannot be checked. In any case, whether original or official copy, the document is written in a trained rapid hand, typically professional of the first century A.D. The document has suffered at the two side edges and the bottom has been broken off after l.17. At the top is left a generous margin of 2.2 cm., while the left-side margin measures c.1 cm. At the right the lines continue up to the very edge and the words have been abbreviated because of lack of space. The papyrus is not seriously worn at the three horizontal folds and the one central vertical which are clearly visible.

The text runs parallel to the fibres and the back is blank. The first letters of each line are written larger and they progressively become smaller towards the end of the line.



c and o in particular are small and seem to hang from the upper notional parallel line. Several letters display two different forms: α and ε are angular especially at the beginning of the line, while further in the text they are written cursively. υ is typical for the first century with its round lower part facing right, but sometimes (e.g. l.10) it is written quickly. The horizontal line of τ is straight, and the whole letter is written in two separate movements. Worth noticing is the distance between the two parts of one form of κ (not the cursive one, e.g. ll.10 and 15) and of ν, the left vertical stroke of which is often (ll.9 and 12) written separately, joined with the previous letter. The right vertical of η stops slightly after the joint with the horizontal stroke, and ligatures with the following letter. The middle stroke of ε is not linked with the main body of the letter, and θ has the shape of a cone.

In general, the text shows a rapid hand: apart from the cursive letters, letters are often presented joint in ligatures, while superpositio and abbreviations have also been used. In similar hands are written the texts in PSI VIII 908 (Norsa, *Papiri Greci*, Tav. XIII), dated to 43 A.D. from Tebtunis, and PSI XII 1235 (Norsa, *op.cit.*, Tav.XIV) of the first century from Oxyrhynchus.

2. H. >

1. H. Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἡρακλείδῃ  
 στρα(τηγῶι) κ(αὶ) Νικάνδ(ρωι) βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ καὶ Διονυσίῳ[ι]  
 τοπογ(ραμματεῖ) ἄνω[ι] τοπαρχ(ίας) καὶ Σαραπίῳ(νι)  
 5 κωμογ(ραμματεῖ) Κερκεμού(νεως) καὶ (vacat)  
 (vacat) λαογράφ(οις) τῇ(ς) α(ὐτῇς) Κερκεμού(νεως)  
 παρὰ Σιεάπιος τῆς Σαραπίωνος  
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Ἀριτοῦτ(ος)  
 τῆς Ἀρίτωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχ(ων)  
 10 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ Ἀρίτωνος τοῦ Διογέ[ν]ο[υ]ς.  
 ἀπογράφομαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν  
 μοι καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Θαΐδι  
 οἰκίαν θησαυρὸν λεγομένην  
 15 ἐν τῇ<ι> αὐτῇ κώμῃ, ἐν ᾗ οὐ



δεῖς ἀπογράφεται οὐδὲ

10-11 ]καὶ ὁμνύω[

. . . . .

3 στρ<sup>α</sup> κ νικαν<sup>δ</sup> βα<sup>ς</sup>; διονυσι<sup>ω</sup> 4 τοπο<sup>γ</sup>; τοπαρ<sup>χ</sup>; σαραπι<sup>ω</sup> 5 κωμογρ<sup>α</sup>  
κερκεμου<sup>ν</sup> 6 λαογρ τη α; κερκεμο<sup>υ</sup> 8 αρι<sup>ς</sup>του<sup>τ</sup> 9 οξυρυ<sup>γ</sup>υγ<sup>χ</sup>

‘To Tiberius Claudius Heracleides, strategus, and Nicandrus, royal scribe, and Dionysius, district-scribe of the upper toparchy, and Sarapion, village-scribe of Kerkemounis, and (vacat) registrars of the same Kerkemounis, from Sieapis, daughter of Sarapion, son of Apollonius, her mother being Aristous, daughter of Ariston, from the city of Oxyrhynchi, with as guardian her son Ariston, son of Diogenes. I register the house which belongs to me and to my sister, Thais, the so called ‘granary’, in the same village, in which no one is registered nor [lives]; and I swear. . . . .’

1 At the top left side of the document there is a sign (>), presumably an official mark. Almost the same mark is written at the top middle of PSI XII 1235 (I A.D., Oxy.), seen in Norsa, *Papiri Greci*, fasc.2, tav.XIV (PSI ined.). In both cases it is doubtful whether it should be interpreted as ἀ(ντίγραφον), that is an official copy from the τόμοι of κατ’ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί, required for private or for further official use; for ἀντίγραφα of census-returns, see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.144-5, where many parallels are cited. A cross is marked at the top of P.Oxy.XII 1547 (census-return, 119 A.D.), VII 1028 (application for epikrisis, 86 A.D.) and XII 1452 (two epikrisis-returns, 127/8 A.D.), again presumably a kind of official mark.

2-6 All the first century returns from Oxyrhynchus which have their top preserved, with the unique exception of P.Oxy.Hels.10 (34 A.D., addressed to the strategus), are addressed to more than one official. This seems to be characteristic of the Oxyrhynchites and Arsinoites, while in the other nomes census-returns are addressed only to one individual official (see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.84-97 and 101-2, and Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.21). However, P.Oxy.II 254 is addressed to two topogrammateis-komogrammateis, P.Oxy.II 255 adds the strategus and the royal scribe, while only

P.Yale inv.1545B and this return preserve a most complete list by adding the laographi. The combination of the officials addressed already suggests that village-property is being declared.

2-3 Τιβερίω Κλαυδίω Ἡρακλείδῃ στρα(τηγῶ): the tenure of the office of strategus in the Oxyrhynchites by him has not been previously known. He took office between Κουτώριος (72/3) and Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλειος, whose first attestation is on 5.9.77, see Whitehorne and Bastianini, 1987, p.89. His name is indicative of his status; he was granted the roman citizenship (Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος), but his Greek second name (Ἡρακλείδης) suggests that his ancestors were Greek immigrants (cf. Hohlwein, 1969, pp. 42-3). A later strategus by the same name is attested in P.Coll.Youtie I 28,1 (169-173 A.D.).

3 Νικάνδ(ρωι) βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ: this royal scribe in the Oxyrhynchites is well attested in 72/3 in a series of applications for epikrisis (see Whitehorne and Bastianini, 1987, p.141), and in PUG I 12,1 (publ. by HC. Youtie, 1977, pp.138-9). In all the applications for epikrisis he is referred to as 'Νίκανδρος γενόμενος βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς', that is ex-royal scribe, while in PUG 12, possibly an official report, he is addressed as the current royal scribe. The tenure of his office ended by the seventh year of Vespasian (74/5), when Πάμφιλος is attested as royal scribe (P.Oxy.X 1266,2). Taking into consideration the information provided by this census return, we should think of an interruption to his career for two years at least, on condition that it is the same person. For the duration of the tenure of the office of royal scribe, see Oertel, 1917, p.169, where he cites the parallel of Aurelius Apollonius (cf. P.Rainer Cent.65,1-2 nn.), who may also have had an interrupted career as royal scribe of the Lykopolites (again provided that we deal with the same person).

4 τοπιο γραμματεῖ: for the office of τοπογραμματεὺς, which is not liturgic, see Oertel, 1917, pp.164-5, and Wallace, 1938, pp.100 and 397 n.19. His office along with that of κωμογραμματεὺς (l.5) should be distinguished from the one of τοπογραμματεῖς καὶ κωμογραμματεῖς, non-liturgic functionaries, attested for Oxyrhynchus in the reign



of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, see Oertel, 1917, pp.157f. and 161, HC. Youtie, 1977a, pp.138-9, and Hübner, 1978, pp.199-200 n.1.

ἄνω{ι}: the treatment of the iota adscript by the scribe is typical for first century documents. He normally writes it, the omission of which in the word τῇ (l.15) is the only exception, while he adds it erroneously to the adverb ἄνω, because the long diphthongs (αι, ηι, ωι) were no longer phonetically distinguished from the simple long vowels, see Gignac I, pp.183-5.

5 κωμογρα(μματεῖ): the local official who mainly filed the returns. For the office of κωμογραμματεύς, see Oertel, 1917, pp.157ff., and Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.35. It should be stressed that at the time of this document the office is not likely to be liturgic (earliest evidence of compulsory service in P.Leit.11 = SB VIII 10203, dated to 136 A.D.).

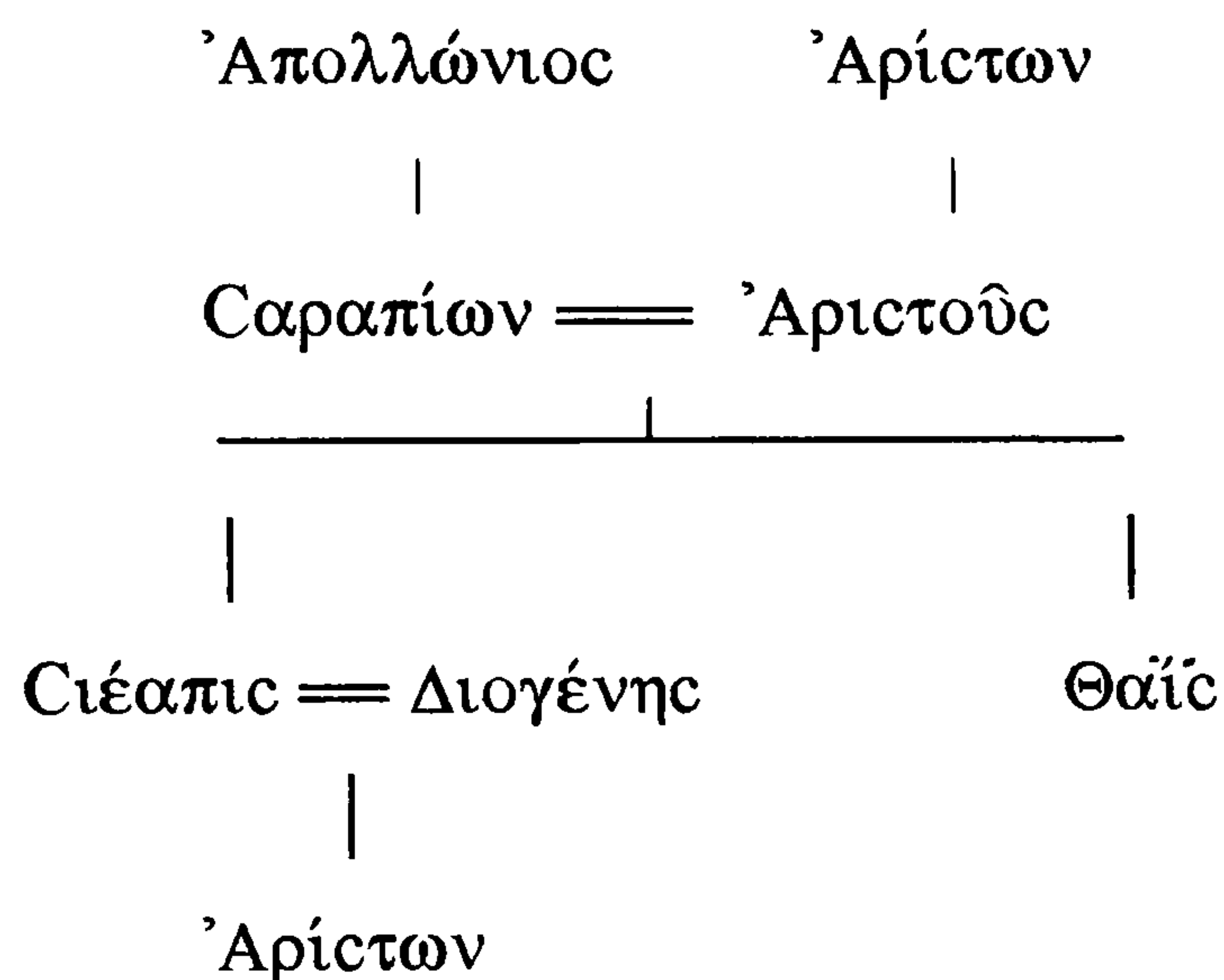
Κερκεμούν(εως) (cf. l.6): for Κερκεμοῦνις, well attested τόποι (on the term, see Krüger, 1990, p.44: 'ein Landkreis in den Sitologen-Dokumenten, .... Bezirk oder Kreis von begrenzter territorialer Ausdehnung zur Sammlung der Getreideproduktion und der Getreidesteuern') in the upper toparchy, see Pruneti, 1981, p.80, and Krüger, 1990, p.274. However, in this document it is characterised as κώμη (l.15). Apparently, Κερκεμοῦνις is the name of the village, which functions as the centre of the district for the *κυτολόγοι* and other officials, cf. Boehm, 1953, pp.473-480, and where the uninhabited house is located. Κερκεμοῦνις κώμη is also possibly mentioned in P.Hib.II 248 fr. I, (250 B.C.), P.Leid.Inst. 43,5 (II A.D.) and P.Oxy. XIV 1659,10 (218-221 A.D.).

6 λαογρά(φοις): cf. Oertel, 1917, pp.179ff., Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.35, and especially Wallace, 1938, pp.99 and 336, who considers them 'local officials whose sole concern seems to have been the census and the poll tax', and in particular that 'they were possibly employed to check up the returns sent in by the owners of the houses...but lack of evidence prevents even a conjecture as to how they would go about making such a check-up'. In the villages the number of the λαογράφοι, who apparently were liturgists, varies from two (PSI X 1136 from Tebtunis, P.Mich.III 177 from Bakchias) to six (P.Lond.III 1221 and P.Heid.IV 298, both from Theadelphia), in contrast to the



metropolis, where the number of laographoi may have equalled the number of amphoda, and each laographos seems to be responsible for his own amphodon only (Mertens, 1958, pp.82-3). Therefore, I think that we are right to resolve the abbreviation into the plural ending of the word, cf. Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.95-7. It could be assumed that the space at the end of l.5 and the beginning of l.6 has been left because of ignorance of the names of two or three λαογράφοι of Kerkemounis.

7-11 Although no people are registered in the house in Kerkemounis, the document provides us with enough prosopographical information about Sieapis' family, mostly through her self-identification, which includes the names of her father, paternal grandfather, mother and maternal grandfather. It is worth stressing the fact that this census-return includes so many names in the initial self-identification of the declarant, despite its early date and the presence of a guardian who normally eliminates the family details of the person under his guardianship (see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, p.102, and Bagnall-Frier, 1994, p.22). The family-tree reconstructed from these lines is as follows:



None of these people can be identified with people already attested in the papyri.

7 Κιέαπιος: the name of this Egyptian lady is not attested. Κιαιέπις in its genitive form is attested in P.Mich.V 238,60 (46 A.D., Tebtunis) which could be the same name. For the frequent interchange of αι and ε, see Gignac I, 1976, pp.192-3, 278-286, and in particular 279 n.1, and 285-6 for the interchange of α and ε. Κιε (Κια, Κιος) meaning cedar in coptic, is used as personal name for both men and women, see Heuser, 1929, pp.54 and 72. The name of the Egyptian god Apis is also often part of theophoric

names, e.g. Κάραπις, Ψέναπις, (Heuser, 1929, p.60). Therefore, Cιέαπις could perhaps be a compound theophoric name, meaning ‘the cedar of Apis’.

9-10 ἀπ’ Ὀξύρυγχ(ων) πόλεως: a common formula to denote one’s origins. For the restoration to Ὀξύρυγχ(ων) and not to Ὀξύρυγχ(ειτῶν), is decisive the early date of the document and the absence of the definite article, see Hagedorn, 1973, pp.277-92, in particular 277-81. The fact that the declarant comes from and possibly lives in the city of Oxyrhynchi, is itself a privilege, see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, p.104.

10-11 The declarant being a woman before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 A.D.), is normally accompanied by a κύριος, who is often a relative. A list of references to κύριος in the papyri can be found in Kutzner, 1989, pp.79ff., Taubenschlag, 1938, *passim* (= *Opera Minora* II, pp.353-377, especially 369-370 for the census-returns); for the guardianship of women in Roman Egypt as it appears in census-returns, see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.59-61, and in general, Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, pp.171-8, and Arjava, 1996, pp.118-123. Since in this document the woman is helped by her son (cf. P.Tebt.II 480, 203 A.D.), and not her husband which was commoner, one could assume that she is widowed or divorced, cf. Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.60, 167-8. As always there is no article between μετά and κυρίου, (cf. P.Tebt.II 480, 4-5, 203 A.D.).

12 ἀπογράφομαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν: this is considered the standard formula in the Oxyrhynchites, but after 146 A.D., cf. Parassoglou, 1970, p.96 n.31. To the best of my knowledge, regarding this key formula of the declaration, this document is the earliest extant, along with P.CtYBR inv.1217, 3-5 (reign of Augustus, Oxy.) which preserves a slightly different formula (ἀπογράφομαι ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ μοι οἰκίᾳ).

13 This is another example of fragmentation of property between siblings, which results primarily from the Egyptian system of partible inheritance (see Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, pp.239ff, and the references cited there). The shares of the declared property are unspecified, reflecting a *communio pro indivisio*, that is the legal designation of a portion of a physically undivided house; for the legal distinction between the *communio pro indivisio* and *communio pro divisio*, the two types of fractional ownership, see Weiss, 1908, pp.330-65. This document is also a further instance of the fact that women



owned real estate in Roman Egypt, most frequently houses or parts of houses, normally through dowry and/or inheritance (Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, p.150f., Kutzner, 1989, pp.111-3, and further, Hobson, 1983, pp.311-21, and Pomeroy, 1981, pp.302-22, mostly on women as landowners). In agreement with the remaining first century returns, with the unique exception of P.Oxy.Hels.10,5 (πατρικῇ οἰκίᾳ), there is no mention of the way in which the property devolved to its present owners, a common element of the later census-returns. Despite the joint ownership, the two sisters do not file a joint declaration, which is not uncommon, even between relatives, see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, p.58.

Θαῖδι: this is a common female name in the Oxyrhynchite, as well as Ἀριτοῦς (l.8). Regarding its accentuation I have followed Pape and Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, and the majority of the editions of papyri preserving this name, and not Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, who accent differently (Θάις).

14 Cf. P.Tebt.II 518,15 and n.15 (189 A.D.): ἐ]ν ἐπαυλ(ίδι) κωμογρα(μματ..) λεγομ(ένη). It is remarkable that the only feature of the house given in the declaration is that it is named 'granary'. This should have been well known within the community of Kerkemounis, to be worth mentioning in an official document. The amount of detail given about the declared property varies considerably, but it has been noticed that a house is designated more exactly, if it is situated in the city, where the ἄμφοδον and the ρύμη are normally named, than if it is located in a village. The uninhabited house of the declaration may have been a former public or private granary in the Topoi Kerkemounis (see above n.5). A θησαυρός in Kerkemounis is attested in P.Mich.inv.2176,8 (publ. by HC. Youtie, 1976, pp.102-3) = SB XIV 12079 (258/9 A.D.). Evidence for the many private granaries attested in the papyri has been collected by Calderini, 1924, pp.41-5, cf. also the papyri providing information about private granaries mentioned by Husselman, 1952, p.70. There were also granaries, forming parts of private houses (cf. Husson, 1983, pp.91-3), and it is very probable that the family of Apollinarius in Karanis took over as living quarters part of the granary (Husselman, 1952, pp.68-9). All these instances could indicate that it was not difficult to turn a granary into a house.



15-17 This return apparently concerns a house which is not inhabited by its owners, who should register themselves (and their families and slaves, if there are any) at their permanent residence. From this aspect, this return is unique among the first century returns from Oxyrhynchus, since in the parallel case of P.Yale inv.1545B a quarter of a house is declared not to be *regularly* inhabited (ll.36f.).

15 αὐτῇ: I think that the scribe initially rushed to write a τ instead of an υ, which he himself immediately corrected. Similarly, he probably wrote ν in the second ἐν of the line on the top of another letter, perhaps of η.

ἐν ἧ: (scil. οἰκίᾳ). The same preposition is used to introduce the ‘double’ (see below, n.17) closing formula of uninhabited property in P.CtYBR inv.468,15, (132/3 A.D., Tebtunis, publ. by Duttonhöfer, 1997, p.67), while in P.Oxy.III 480,5 εἰς + Accusative is employed. In general, in the census-returns the relative clause which states that people live and/or are registered at the declared property begins with ἐν + Dative, εἰς + Accusative or ἐπὶ + Genitive, but in this last case only a form of the verb ἀπογράφεσθαι could follow.

17 The most plausible restoration of the line is οὐδὲ |<sup>17</sup> [καταγίνεται], cf. P.Oxy III 480,5-6 (134 A.D.), P.CtYBR inv.468,15-6, where the word ἔνοικος is added between οὐδεῖς and κατ[αγίνεται]. Only in these returns among the lot of declarations of uninhabited property, the closing formula, which follows the designation of the census, combines both verbs ἀπογράφομαι and καταγίνομαι, since usually either the formula οὐδεῖς ἀπογράφεται or οὐδεῖς καταγίνεται was sufficient, cf. P.Oxy.XII 1547,30 (119 A.D.), PSI VII 874.i,14 (132/3 A.D., Oxy.), P.Harris I 71,22 (189 A.D., Oxy.). In this case, this early declaration combines all the regular elements of a return, that is, that of declaration (ἀπογράφομαι, l.12 and ἀπογράφεται l.16), of property (τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν μοι, l.12) and of occupation (καταγίνεται, l.17, according to my restoration), see Hombert-Préaux, 1952, pp.108-9. The restoration of the verb κατοικεῖ (cf. P.Wisc.I 18,8, 146/7 A.D, Theadelphia) is less likely, since a longer verb would be needed.

17f. καὶ ὁμνύω: the beginning of the oath. Since the papyrus breaks off, it cannot be decided whether the long and elaborate oath which lists all the status categories, common in Oxyrhynchus in the first century, cf. P.Oxy.Hels.10 (34 A.D.), or the shorter one of the census-return of P.Oxy.II 361, contemporary to this document, and of PSI I 53.iii (132/3 A.D.) is included: καὶ ὁμνύομεν Αὐτ[ο]κράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Σεβαστὸν ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα. εὐορκοῦσι μὲν ἡμεῖν εὖ εἴη κ.τ.λ.. Oath is missing completely in P.Yale inv.1545B, while in P.Oxy.II 254 and 256 its presence cannot be determined due to the mutilated condition of the document. For a discussion of the use of the oath in all types of returns, see bibliography cited in P.Oxy.Hels.10, n.15.

## PETITION

27 3B.43/ F (2)

26.2 x 29.2 cm.

late II - early III A.D.

Plate XIII.

This petition is written along the fibres of a papyrus sheet, which is broken off irregularly on its left-hand side. Almost half of the original text may have vanished, but it is impossible to estimate the exact loss of each line at the left. Additionally, a large number of bigger and smaller worm holes, the latter accumulate in the upper part of the papyrus, mar the surface of the document; the most prominent lays at the top left-hand side reaching the first line and continuing till the tenth. Five vertical folds and similarly shaped holes in proximity (e.g. in the interlinear space between ll.13 and 14, above the second line, or in l.8) reveal that the petition was rolled with the right edge inside. A kollesis is visible about 7.2 cm. from the right-hand side, where the piece has suffered considerably from abrasion. The document exhibits generous top and bottom margins, the former measuring approximately 3.2, and the latter 7 cm. At the right-hand side of the papyrus the margin is rather irregular measuring at its widest 1.8 cm. (l.21), while sometimes the writing or the lengthened hastae of the last letters reach the very end of the sheet, almost leaving no margin at all. Due to the loss of the part where subscriptions appear, it cannot be concluded whether the petition is original or copy. The back is blank.

This document is written in an upright, bold and flamboyant, rather irregular, but accomplished cursive hand. Curved lines prevail and rich ornamentation in the form of roundels and serifs is dominant in the document. The hand is medium (letter-height averages c.0.5 cm.), apart from the seven first lines, which are written smaller, more uniform and narrowly spaced. The scribe tried to retain bilinearity with violations by the long ρ, φ, ξ, ι, sometimes τ, tiny o and c and various large letters (e.g. β, η, κ, π, χ). Moreover, there is no consistency regarding the ductus of several letters, and alterations are frequently noticed of one letter to the other concerning their form and size, e.g. β, ε, κ, ο, π, c, υ, ω. β retains the common cursive form ( ), but also appears with the non-cursive one, that is, a large β which rests on a horizontal. Apart from the cursive ε,



another one is attested which keeps its middle stroke, but not attached to the rest of the letter. κ has either its oblique strokes detached from the vertical, which form an acute angle, or appears with its common cursive form (λ). ο could be either tiny or very large. π is sometimes drawn with no lengthened horizontal, but a curve on its top, while the cap of c is often carried further over, so that the letter assumes an almost round appearance. υ appears with three forms: curved with its tail projecting towards the right, v-shaped with a horizontal (e.g. l.9) or a loop as its basis (l.13). ω is mostly drawn with a middle loop, but also with no middle part, and flat basis (ll.19, 22, 23). Additional notable letters are the diamond-shaped φ, and δ with an open right angle. Letters are written in ligatures, of which the most interesting are αρ (l.19), ερ (ll.10,15) and ει (l.14).

In general, the hand bespeaks a skillful scribe who has sometimes corrected himself (ll.4,7) and attempted to separate the words, most of the times successfully (but for instance the compounds, ἀντιλέγομεν written as αν τι λεγομεν, l.11; πακτοφόροι as πακ το φοροι, l.18). He tends to split the compounds, e.g. προχωρεῖν (l.10), θαλλοδόται (l.12), ὑπομνημάτων (l.20), to join words to their enclitics, e.g. ἱερά σου (l.11), δώσω σοι (l.15), and not to separate words where elision occurs, e.g. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (l.14). Finally, space of two letters is devised in a couple of cases to act as punctuation, e.g. after δώσω σοι (l.15) and before ἤδη γάρ (l.17). 'Inorganic' trema (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.10) having the form of two dots, is employed on the top of every initial υ and ι at least in the preserved part of the papyrus. Rough breathing is also marked in two instances (ll.18 and 22) having the angular form (form 2, according to Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p.11). Elision is effected tacitly in a couple of cases (l.11: ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, l.22: ὅδ' ἔξω). Iota adscript is perhaps written only once in the date of l.8.

Palaeographically, the document can be assigned to the second half of the second century-beginning of the third. Comparable hands are those of P.Flor.I 67, dated to 161-9, table of which can be seen in *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* tav.CXVI, and *PGB* 32b, dated to 200 A.D.

Petitions to officials form a large category among surviving papyri. In this case, an epistrategus is requested (l.5) for direct legal redress (ll.7 and 23). The document implies that this may be a new round of applications to the particular official, since he appears to have been engaged in this matter before (ll.9,11,20?). The particular

petitioners remain unknown due to the condition of the papyrus, but they should be at least two or even three, and belong to a ‘guild’ of temple-attendants, namely that of βωμοφύλακες and θαλλοδόται (l.12), who seem to have been of lower status within the temple than the frequently mentioned πακτοφόροι (cf. l.10). The ‘setting’ of the petition is also unclear. The heavily mutilated document probably includes references to the Great Sarapieion in Alexandria (l.4), other shrine(s) (?) in the same city (ll.3,4), and a certain locality in Oxyrhynchus (l.8). Loss of approximately the left half of this papyrus, in addition with further, sometimes severe damage in the surviving part, has made recovery of the details of this petition impossible. A kind of ‘business’ based on an old custom (l.7) seems to have taken place in the temple, namely the distribution of branches to the visitors (?) of the shrine, for which pastophoroi were entitled to 2/3 of the profit, while the rest was presumably offered to thallodotai, who had additionally to meet the expenses for buying the branches to be distributed (l.13). Apparently, the pastophoroi, the most powerful group among the non-priests in an Egyptian temple, had gained more than traditionally instructed to the disadvantage of the thallodotai. This injustice may have prompted the latter’s petition(s) to the epistrategus.

The imperfect condition of this papyrus is much to be deplored, for if more complete it would probably have gone far to solve the uncertainties attaching to the function of βωμοφύλακες, θαλλοδόται and ιδιώται in the temple, their relation to πακτοφόροι, the financial support of each group, which in the end could shed more light on life, organisation and dependence on the Roman authority of a temple in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The interest of this petition is also lexicographical: βωμοφύλαξ (ll.11and12) and ἀρχιβοθυνικτῆς (l.3) are new, while this document preserves the second ever attestation of διάδομα (l.16), which actually confirms the correction in UPZ (see below, n.16), and the second and more significant of θαλλοδότης and θαλλοδοτῶ. However, as it is, owing to the amount of text lost, the papyrus whets our curiosity without satisfying it.

.....  
 κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ

]πόλεως κ[-3-].Ἡρα[-4-]ος Θεώνος Cωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθέως

]ρης ἱερ.[±2-τῆ]ς αὐτ[ῆς] πόλεως καὶ θαλλοδότου καὶ ἀρχιβοθυνικτοῦ



]c αὐτ.[-5-]οῖς καὶ [έν] τῷ Μεγάλῳ Cαραπείῳ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως  
 5 ]ως δ.[-3-].πρ. . [-]ρομεν, ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε, πᾶν καλὸν καὶ  
 ]χρι τῶν [εὐτυ]χεστάτων Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας συνετήρησεν  
 ].ουν[-].[-8-]. . ρησον ἡμεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμῶν ἔθος  
 ].ος ἐν τῇ[-8-]μων ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλει τῷ ζ? (ἔτει)  
 ].οῖ[-].]παστοφόρων καὶ διὰ τῶν cῶν ὑπομνημάτων εἶπας τὸ περὶ  
 10 ]προχωρεῖν μὲν τοῖς παστοφόροις δύο μέρη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον  
 ]βωμοφύλακες καὶ τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα οὐκ ἀντιλέγομεν, ὁ δὲ  
 ][-1-].[-5-]ο[ὐ] μόνον βωμοφύλακες ἐσμέν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλλοδόται τοῦ  
 ]c πόλεως καὶ φέρομεν τοὺς θαλλοὺς ἀγοράζοντες χαλκοῦ καὶ καθήμεθα ἐν  
 ]. θαλλοδοτοῦντες ἔρχεται ὁ ιδιώτης, πολλάκις θαλλοδοτεῖται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
 15 ὁ]βολὸν λέγων ὅτι ἄλλη ἡμέρα δώσω σοι, οὗτος δὲ εἰς  
 ]τον ὀβο[λὸν] τὸν τότε, τουτέ[c]τιν διάδομα, καὶ δίδωσιν  
 ]χε.[-3-].[-]ων. Ἦδη γὰρ ὁ ιδιώτης δέδωκεν  
 ]c ἐν[-3-]καστου καὶ αὐτοῖ οἱ παστοφόροι πάλιν λαμ  
 ]εως.[-2-].ν λάβη εἰς χεῖρας παρὰ τοῦ ιδιώτου αὐτῷ  
 20 ]ων[-3-]ὑπομνημάτων καὶ πολλάκις καλεῖ ἡμᾶς  
 ]. η οἱ συνχωρηθέντες [-2-].τες φάνοιντο  
 παστο]φόρος c.[-1-]... ὧδ' ἔξω [-2-].ων ὅτι δεῖ με  
 ]αβεῖν.[-].[-] ἰν' ᾧ βεβο[ηθ]ημένοι. Διευτύχει.

2 l.Cωσικοσμίου; l.'Αλθαιέως 3 ἱερ.[ 4 Cαραπείῳ: ω corr. from ου 7 l.ἡμῖν;  
 παλαιόν: π corr. from ο 8 l.'Οξυρυγχιτῶν; — 9 ὑπομνηματων 11 ἱερα 12  
 ἱερου 14 l.ἰδιωτης 18 ἐν[ 19 ἰδιωτου 20 ὑπομνηματων 21 l.εἰ (?); l.συγχ  
 ωρηθέντες 22 ὧδ 23 l.ἰν' ᾧμεν

‘ . . . . . of lord Augustus. . . . .of the city....Hera....os of Theon of the Sosicosmian  
 tribe and Althaeian deme. . . . . of the shrine (?) of the same city and thallodotes and  
 archibothynistes. . . . .in the same shrines (?) and in the Great Sarapieion of the most



illustrius city (of Alexandrians ?). . . . we offer (?), greatest of the procurators, everything nice and . . . . as long as the rule of the most blessed Romans maintained. . . . preserve for us our ancient custom. . . . at the . . . in the city of the Oxyrhynchites in the seventh year (?). . . . of the pastophoroi and through your own memoranda you said about . . . . on one hand to allocate two parts to the pastophoroi, on the other the third to . . . . guards of the altar, and we do not contradict your holy rules, while he . . . . not only are we guards of the altar but also thallodotai of . . . . of the city, and we carry the branches after paying for them, and we sit in . . . . and as we distribute the branches the layman (?) comes, and he is often offered branches by me. . . . saying that ‘I will pay you another day’, but he . . . . the then obol, that is distributed money, and gives. . . . because the layman has already given. . . . of each one and the pastophoroi themselves again receive. . . . he receives in his hands from the layman. To him (?). . . . of memoranda, and he frequently invites us. . . . if all (?) the people approved were to appear. . . . pastophoros .... here outside saying (?) that I must. . . . , so that we may obtain redress. Farewell’.

1 κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ: the first broken piece has been detached from Σεβαστοῦ. The first line of this petition is puzzling. The remains of it suggest either the end of the date, which normally, even in copies, is entered at the very end of the petition (White, 1972a, pp.30-1 and 37), or the end of the title of the petitioned official (e.g. ἀρχιερεῖ τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ). In this case, this appears to be the epistrategus (see below, 1.5), who is not known to be addressed by such a title.

2 Ἡρα[....]ος: it is not certain that η is the initial letter of this name, although it is tall enough to fit the assumption. If this is valid, possibilities could be the genitive forms (on the condition that in all probability παρά precedes) of Ἡραδίων, Ἡραθέων, Ἡραίων, Ἡράμμων, Ἡραπίων.

Ὠσικοςμείου (l. Ὠσικοςμίου) τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθέως (l. Ἀλθαιέως) : on this, by far the most frequently attested Alexandrian tribe-deme combination, see Delia, 1991, Appendix 3, pp.135ff. The same scholar in agreement with Schubart (1913, p.99, n.2) considers the name of the tribe Ὠσικόσμιοι to have originated in honour of Hadrian,

as the homonymous tribe in Antinoopolis, since its earliest attestation for an Alexandrian citizen dates to 125 A.D. (Delia, 1991, p.68). On the other hand, Montevecchi (1976b, pp.200-219) assigns the origins of the name of this tribe, as of most of the others, to the propaganda of Nero. On the tribes and demes of Alexandria, see Delia, 1991, pp.21-23, 49-70 and 135-141.

3 ]ρηc: an option for reconstruction of the word would be Κό]ρηc, e.g. τοῦ τῆc Κό]ρηc ἱεροῦ, or perhaps with the addition of the name of another deity or deities, e.g. Δήμητροc (or/and alii, cf. for instance P.Oxy.XII 1449,1f.) καὶ Κό]ρηc. A number of attestations of the cult of Kore alone or along with other deities in various nomes have survived in the papyri (see Ronchi, 1974-77, pp.588-9); among these with respect to this document it is worth drawing attention to SB V 8280,1 (old Ptolemaic) and O.G.I. I 83,6 (222-205 B.C.) referring to her cult in Alexandria, and P.Oxy.XII 1449,2,5,6 (213-7 A.D.), P.Yale I 64,13 (75/6 A.D.) and P.Oslo III 94,3 (II-III) for relevant references in Oxyrhynchus. Information on this Greek deity in Alexandria has been collected by Fraser (I, pp.198-200), who mentions the Thesmophorion, a common temple for Demeter and Kore, situated in or near the Inner Palace, one of the major temples of the city at the time. Moreover, Kore had her own separate cult in the city, as well as possibly a separate festival, the Koreia. Alternatively, one may think of a title of temple-attendants, which to the best of my knowledge would be an *addendum lexicis*.

ἱε ρ[: the letter after ρ could be more likely considered an o, like the first one in θαλλοδότου (l.3); thus an inviting restoration would be ἱερο[ῶ.

θαλλοδότου: θαλλοδόται are attested only in P.Oxy.XLIII 3094 (217-8 A.D.) in the address on the back of a private letter. The setting seems to be the Oxyrhynchite Sarapieion, and the two θαλλοδόται are operating in the shrine of the god and under the gateway of the Sarapieion by the great image respectively. Their job is also mentioned in T.Mom.Louvre 139 A.1 (II-III A.D.) Their task in a temple is to distribute the thallos; among the various meanings of θαλλός, ‘branch’ is the only suitable (LSJ s.v., and Eitrem, 1937, pp.41f.). Nothing more is attested regarding the custom of offering thalloi to visitors in temples, apart from the story narrated by Suetonius (Suet. *Vesp.* 7.1) of a vision experienced by Vespasian in the Alexandrian



Sarapieion (see P.Oxy.XLIII 3094 n.40), although Nautin, (1977, p.xii) objects to the fact that the freedman Basilides, who is offering the palm-branches to Vespasian, actually acts as a θαλλοδότης; he offers to the emperor divine honours. Nautin recalls as a relevant parallel the anecdote reported by Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion* 64,1) that Origen was forced by the pagans to distribute palm-branches (θαλλοὺς φοινίκων) to the visitors of the Sarapieion of Alexandria, who were going to offer them to the god. The status of θαλλοδοῦται in the hierarchy of the temple is not known either. Taking into account ll.3,12 and their contrast to the ἰδιώτης (ll.14,17 and 19) on the one hand, and to παστοφόροι (ll.9,10 and 18) on the other, they are very likely to be not ἱερεῖς but ἱερωμένοι, that is they should belong to the second group of ‘temple-people’, according to the classification of Schönborn (1976, pp.4ff.), but of lower rank than pastophoroi.

ἀρχιβοθυνικοῦ: nothing is known of the group of βοθυνικαί or of their chief in an Egyptian temple. Presumably, they have the same status as thallodotai (see above). Βοθυνιμός is mentioned in agricultural context in BGU XVI 2643,23 (9/8 A.D., Herakleopolites), translated as ‘ditch-digging’ by its editor W.Brashear. Βόθυνος meaning hole, trench, pit etc. is well attested in the papyri, namely P.Hal.II,97 (III B.C.), BGU IV 1122,17 (12 B.C.), P.Merton I 27,12 (III A.D.) and P.Prag.I 23,15 (195 A.D.). It is offered as a synonym to βόθρος which is attested in Porphyry, *de antro Nympharum* 6, to denote ‘a ritual pit for offerings to ὑποχθόνιοι θεοί’, see LSJ, s.v.; this may be useful to the interpretation of the function of a βοθυνική in a temple. Perhaps one may entertain the assumption that these people could have been related to such ritual pits, if they existed at all in an Egyptian temple.

4 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἱεροῖς?

τῷ Μεγάλῳ Σαραπείῳ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως: this is very likely the Great Sarapieion of Alexandria, the city which more frequently than any other is designated ‘λαμπροτάτη’ in the papyri. In all likelihood, the next line could begin with |<sup>5</sup> [τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων. On the main Alexandrian temple of Sarapis, situated on the Rhacotis Hill, see A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.*, s.v. ‘Alexandreia’, pp.140-6, and Fraser 1972, I, pp.267-271, and II, pp.83-91 nn.190-1. The attribute Μεγάλῳ may distinguish it from



other Serapeia in the suburbs of the city. This is one of the few instances that a Sarapieion, apart from the one in Memphis, is called Μέγα, but this could be due to the lack of extensive evidence, in particular concerning the Sarapieion in Alexandria, and the nature of documents mentioning it (private letters, registration of sales etc, see Ronchi, 1974-77, pp.947-965).<sup>33</sup> To Alexandria also point in l.2 the origins, *ᾠσικοῦ μείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθέως*, of one of the petitioners or of his father (who bears the common Alexandrian male name *Θέων*). However, the document's connection to Oxyrhynchus, where the document was discovered, is not made clear. The usual explanation is that the official addressed at a later point of his life moved to Oxyrhynchus along with his archive. Although this document is in all probability a copy, its case is more complicated, since Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in l.8. A possibility could be that for an unclear reason some of the attendants of the Alexandrian Sarapieion or another temple in Alexandria petitioned the epistrategus who was at this time in Oxyrhynchus. Was he actually the epistrategus of the Heptanomia? Line 9 bears the indication that a previous decision had existed, probably reached after hearings held in Oxyrhynchus. A mere conjecture for supplying l.8 could be *ἐν τῇ [διαγνώσει ἡ]μῶν*.

5 The first surviving letters of the line should be *ω* and *c*. Then, after *π* the long vertical with a round part on its top suggests a *ρ*. In the gap after a couple of illegible traces is lost a long letter with its tale facing left; an inviting restoration would be a *φ*, having the form of the one in *βωμοφύλακες* (l.12) and *φέρομεν* (l.13). The ending of this verb is *-ομεν*, while just before that *ρ* is pretty certain. I would restore it to *προϋφ[έ]ρομεν*, however the reading of *o* and *c* is not straightforward.

*ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε*: the petitioned official should be the epistrategus, since in all the petitions which preserve this apostrophe to an official, this is clearly the epistrategus: cf. P.Mich.inv.2920 = SB XIV 11478,1 and 5 (210-1 A.D.), P.Mich.VI 426,1 and 6 (199-200 A.D.), BGU I 168,1 and 3-4 (II-III A.D.) and P.Turner 34,4 (216 A.D.), where the official addressed is *κράτιστος ἑπαρχος ὅρους διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν* (l.1). Thomas, 1982, p.47, justifies as technically correct the

<sup>33</sup> The other instances, apart from the ones referring to the Memphis-Sarapieion, are in P.Oxy.VII 1070,7 (III) and XLIX 3463.8 (58 A.D.) to the Alexandrian, and P.Brem.46 (110 A.D.) to the one in Hermoupolis.

description of the epistrategus as epitropus, the Latin equivalent of *procurator*, ‘since epistrategoi were equestrian *procuratores*, at any rate before the end of the first century’. Although many objections are raised regarding the identification of the epitropus with the epistrategus in several documents, none of these cases includes the address ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε (Thomas, 1982, pp.47-50). Thomas (176ff.) has also noted that priests appear with some frequency in documents in which the epistrategus is mentioned, however his view on the ‘special concern of the epistrategus for temple affairs’ has been challenged by Aubert, 1991, p.101f. and n.14. These documents are mostly petitions sent by priests against liturgies or violence (see Tables A and B, in Thomas, 1982, pp.143-156). Among them, the closest to our case would be SB VI 9066 (138-164 A.D., Soknopaiou Nesos), a draft of a legal case which records a conflict between different groups of priests concerned with a right to income which came to a hearing before the epistrategus. Moreover, P.Tebt.II 302 (71-2 A.D.) preserves information about a trial, in which an epistrategus presided over a dispute between priests and νόθοι of the temple over land leasing.

6 ἄλχι or μέλχι?

τῶν [εὐτυ]χεστάτων Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας: I would consider this phrase a translation of a Latin formula, running e.g. as follows: *felicissimorum Romanorum/ Romani/-ae imperii/ auctoritatis*. On the Greek term ἡγεμονία for *imperium Romanum*, see Mason, 1974, pp.51 and 145. The notion of *felicitas* with religious connotation connected to *imperium* played an important role in Roman politics, see Wistrand, 1987, *passim*. The solicism in this line could actually occur because of the unsuccessful translation. Ἠγεμονίας is probably to be changed to nominative, and the article <ἡ> is to be supplied before τῶν.

7 After the gap the high wavy line could belong to a τ, then there is space to fit in one letter, while subsequently the reading of a ρ and a thin η is very likely. A tempting restoration would be: συ]ντήρησον, cf. l.6.



τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμῶν ἔθος: apparently there was no judicial precedent for the practice of this custom. On the use of ἔθος in the context of religion and cult, see Schmitz, 1970, pp.78-83.

8 ἐν τῇ Ὀξύρυγχειτῶν πόλει: the name of the town in all likelihood provides a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the petition, since the earliest attestation of this formula is in 155 A.D., see Hagedorn, 1973, pp.279-281.

τῶι ζ(?) (ἔτει): it is not clear whether one should read τῶι ζ or τῶι ιζ ἔτει. The ι of τῶ is attached to the ω, thus, but iota adscript is not marked anywhere else in this document.

9 πακτοφόρων: cf. also ll.10,18 and 22. Πακτοφόροι are well attested in the papyri, therefore there is sufficient evidence to describe their function in the temple. They were non-priest attendants of the shrine, having obtained their name from their main duty, to carry the πακτός, that is the 'shrine' or boat of the god in the processions. The Gnomon of Idios Logos (BGU V) allowed them to engage in private business (sec.83), on condition that they do not desert their duties in the temple (sec.75), see Schönborn, 1976, pp.27-8. There is a possibility that private business could lay in the background of our petition (see below, l.14), or in any case that this piece concerns a kind of 'minor business', in which πακτοφόροι would make some profit. In this context attention should also be drawn to PSI X 1149 (I A.D., Tebtunis), a document which preserves parts of the *Σέμνουθι*, that is a body of laws and traditions which governed the conduct of the various priests and of the religious rites, identified with what was called in Greek the 'ἱερατικὸς νόμος'. The preserved part deals mainly with the competence of the πακτοφόροι, who appear rather powerful, forming a kind of temple guard, a 'παραφυλακή' (ll.3 and 8), for the inmates (ἰδιῶται) of the temple (especially on this, see Aubert, 1991, pp.115-118). Their suggested precedence over the various non-priest shrine attendants could be detected in our petition in ll.10 and 18, where they mostly appear to take advantage of certain temple-revenues. For more information on πακτοφόροι, see Otto I, 1905, mainly pp.94-8, Schönborn, 1976, *passim*, Evans, 1961, pp.192-5, and Passoni dell' Acqua, 1981, mainly pp.175-180, and for documentation CPR XIII, pp.134-142.



ὑπομνημάτων (cf. l.20): these should be memoranda bearing the decision of the epistrategus upon the particular problem, part of which very likely is preserved in l.10f, with which the particular official would also have dealt in the past. In all probability, one could consider them the same documents which are characterised as ‘τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα’ in l.11.

10 It is not made clear whether this line describes the παλαιὸν ἔθος of the thalldotai, or the epistrategus’ decision to his previous dealing with this dispute, which may have respected or not the old tradition in the temple.

11 βωμοφύλακες: this is the first time they are attested. Their duty in the temple seems self-evident, that is to guard the god’s altar, and in l.12 it could be suggested that they belong to a lower group of ‘temple-people’ in terms of hierarchy than θαλλοδόται, and certainly πακτοφόροι, since they are eager to emphasise that they are not only βωμοφύλακες, but also θαλλοδόται. Thus, in the same line it is revealed that people could perform duties of different nature and possibly status within the Egyptian temple. Guards of different duties are well attested to operate in the temple precincts, among whom those who protected ‘the cult-statue which was covered with precious metals and gems’ (see Miller, 1988, pp.223-6, in particular p.224).

τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα: taking into account that in this document τὰ ἱερά γράμματα refer to the epistrategus (σου), the definition ‘hieroglyphics’ in *WB* s.v. γράμμα 3 (cf. SB XVIII 13734,13) is not acceptable. In this context, as in the similarly fragmented context of SB I 5693,22 (186 A.D., Oxyrhynchus), γράμματα should denote a written decision or rule drawn by the epistrategus (cf. l.9), defined as ἱερά by reason of respect. Furthermore, one may relate the attribution of this adjective to the Roman emperor with that to his upper class officers like the epistrategus, and thus representatives of his authority in the various imperial provinces, see LSJ s.v. ἱερός = imperial IIc, Lewis-Short, s.vv. *sacer* I B, *sanctus* B 1, *WB* 3 Absch.20, and cf. for instance P.Hamb.I 4,8 (I A.D.): τὸ ἱερώτατον βῆμα (of the *praefectus Aegypti*). One may even think of an imperial decree lying behind the expression ‘τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα’ (cf. *IGRom*.4.571 from Asia Minor, II A.D.: ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτων), which the

epistrategus may have had to apply to the case described in this petition. The suggested definition is supported by LSJ s.v. γράμμα III 3 and 4. Surprisingly, in BGU II 615,20 (II A.D., Fayum) even the private letter from one's brother is described by the very same words.

12-3 At the beginning of l.13 one is tempted to think as supplement τοῦ Καραπείου τῆς πόλεως, perhaps with the addition of the attributes Μεγάλου and λαμπροτάτης. Thus, the length of the line cannot be really estimated.

13 χαλκοῦ: cf. also ll.15 and 16, if both restorations to ὀβολόν are correct. For bronze currency in general in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see West and Johnson, 1944, pp.13-25, and the note by M. Crawford in P.Oxy.XXXVIII, p.50.

14 ὁ ἰδιώτης (cf.also ll.17 and 19): in the setting of an Egyptian temple, ἰδιώτης is defined as a layman, a non-priest (*WB* s.v. 4). Ἰδιῶται were people operating in the temple, performing various tasks, strictly non-priestly, such as the ones mentioned in PSI X 1149,1-3 (I A.D., Tebtunis): τῷ ἱερῷ ἰδιώτας γει[τ]νομένους κ]αὶ βυccουργοὺς τε καὶ ἀρτοκόπους καὶ ἕτερα εἶδη<sup>3</sup> [οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν ἀλλ]ὰ καὶ γυναικῶν; cf. also the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, par.83: παcτοφόρο[ιc] ἐξὸν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐφίεσθαι τάξεων, and par.96: ἱερατικὴ τάξ[ιc] ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν οὐκ ἐπικρατεῖται. They should be among those described as 'Laien oder dritte Gruppe in den Tempeln' by Schönborn (1976, pp.5-6). Another less likely possibility would be that the ἰδιώτης is a worshipper who visits the temple and buys θαλλοὺς from the θαλλοδόται as part of the ritual of the cult. In the fragmented context of this petition, it is not made clear whether ὁ ἰδιώτης is a collective noun or it refers to a particular person, perhaps mentioned at some point in the petition. Very likely the scribe may have miscopied the word by writing a γ instead of τ.

θαλλοδοτεῖται: in this context the verb θαλλοδοτεῖται is most likely passive, and ἀπ' ἐμοῦ appears to be used instead of ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. This could probably suggest that the θαλλοδόται actually leased their 'office' to ἰδιώτης, perhaps when they were too busy, and the latter had to give them part of the earnings (is this actually the διάδομα in l.16?) probably by selling the thalloi to the pilgrims of the temple.



ἀπ' ἐμοῦ: cf. also l.15: τοῖ and l.22: με. Although the petitioners should be the whole group of bomophylakes and thalldotai of the certain temple, there may be one among them who acts as their representative and actually files their common complaint.

15-16 At the beginning of both lines the restoration of ὀβολόν is irresistible, and within these two successive lines the inconsistency of the scribe in drawing the letter β becomes apparent. The subject of δίδωσιν could be ὁ ιδιώτης, cf. l.17.

16 διάδομα: this is a very rare word whose definition might have been provided by this document, if it had been intact. It is attested only in IG7 2715,64 and among the papyri in UPZ I 2,8 (163 B.C.), corrected from διὰ δομάτων by Wilhelm (see *BL* VIII, p.499). The meaning 'distribution of money' (LSJ s.v.) may fit the present context, cf. l.10, or more precisely the result of the distribution of money (cf. Palmer, 1945, pp.94ff), that is 'money distributed'.

17 The space before χ would suggest that it is the initial letter of a word. The second letter after χ could be taken as an ε, drawn as the one in *Ἐωσικοσμείου* (l.2) or *ἔρχεται* (l.14). After the gap there should have been written only a long letter, whose traces suggest a thin η of the pattern of the one in *ἡμέρα* (l.15). A possible restoration could be εἰς] χεῖρα] ἡ[μ]ῶν, cf. l.19.

18 A mere conjecture could be: εἰς χεῖρα], while for the sequence ἐν[ὸς ἐ]κάτου is pretty certain. At the end of this line λαμ- should begin λαμβάνουσι, which continues in the following line. ἐν[ὸς ἐ]κάτου would in all likelihood refer to pastophoroi.

19 ἕως δ[ὲ] λ[ό]ν λάβη? δ is a fairly large letter, therefore only one letter may have been lost completely in the gap. The subject is perhaps πατοφόρος (cf. l.22).

Due to the inconsistency of the scribe in this aspect, it is not easy to estimate the space left between separate letters and words. However, I think that no letters have been lost in the hole between παρά and τοῦ.



αὐτῷ: on the top of υ the wrongly marked trema has been erased by the scribe by means of an ink blob. The pronoun could refer both to ἰδιώτης and πακτοφόρος. The same is valid for καλεῖ (l.20).

20 ]τῶν [cῶν] ὑπομνημάτων? cf. l.9.

21 οἱ συνχωρηθέντες: this should refer to an official agreement which could be connected with the hypomnemata in ll.9 and 20, and the ἱερὰ γράμματα in l.11.

Before φάνοιντο, τες is almost certain; the lost letters due to the abrasion of the papyrus at this point could be πάλντες.

φάνοιντο: the use of the optative is noteworthy, since at this time this mood was falling into disuse. I suspect that this could be the verb of the protasis of a conditional, therefore, the large remote η before οἱ may be considered εἰ. εἰ φανείη occurs in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine period (Horn, 1926, pp.164-5). For the apodosis potential optative is expected, but also future indicative, present indicative, imperative and infinitive, to denote simply a future condition (Mandilaras, 1973, par.649). Generally for the use and syntax of the optative in the documentary papyri, see Mandilaras, 1973, par.603-657, and Horn, 1926, pp.143ff.

22 After πακτο]φόρος we may reconstruct cτᾱ[θ]εῖς. The second letter looks like τ corrected from ρ.

Before ὅτι we could perhaps restore λέγων.

23 The first five traces of the line are compatible with the letters α, β, ε, ι, ν, which could suggest the infinitive διαλαβεῖν (to give a judicial decision), part of the well attested conventional phrase in petitions διὸ ἄξι-ῶ/ -οῦμεν διαλαβεῖν; it takes the position of the sixth unit in the *third part* of the petition, according to White's division of the petition-letter (White, 1972a, pp.15-18 and n.18). The gap after the restored διαλαβεῖν could have been filled with, for instance περὶ /κατ' αὐτοῦ, while common

formulas as ὥς ἐάν σοι δόξη/ δοκῇ, ὥς ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, are too long for the space available.

## ORDER TO SUMMONS

85 / 5 (a)

21 x 3.1 cm.

IV A.D.

Plate XIV

A light brown piece of papyrus containing an incomplete 'order to summons' (for the most recent discussion whether the traditional term 'order to arrest' is appropriate for this type of documents, see Gagos and Sijpesteijn, 1996, pp.77-9, who rightly prefer in English the term 'order to summons'). The papyrus is broken off at the top and the left-hand side. No margin is left at the bottom and the right-hand side. The papyrus is written along the fibres, a fact that puts it into a minority, for the majority of such documents has writing across the fibres (see Gagos and Sijpesteijn, 1996, pp.81-2, and the consolidated list drawn up by Bülow-Jakobsen, 1986, pp. 95-8, and updated by Gagos and Sijpesteijn, 1996, pp.95-6).<sup>34</sup> There seems to be one horizontal fold almost coinciding with l.3, and one vertical fold, about 6.5 cm. from the right-hand side. The back is blank. The piece is unusually thick which could suggest that it was cut from a papyrus roll at the point of a kollesis. As far as the dimensions of the papyrus are concerned, this piece could conform to the normal pattern, that is, having the form of a long rectangle and ranging from 15 to 25.1 cm. in width, and 4.5 to 10 cm. in height (see HC. Youtie, 1960, p.254, P.Mich.X 589-91, p.50, and of course the consolidated list, *op.cit.*).

With a few exceptions the orders are usually undated (for the orders which bear some indication of date, see the consolidated list, *op. cit.*). The hands in which this order is written do not differ appreciably, and are flamboyant examples of official hands of the fourth century. The letters are large, cf. in particular the tall β, κ, υ and π. Roundels decorate several letters, e.g. α, κ, υ, υ, and there is a tendency to leave space between the words. β, ι, λ, ρ violate bilinearity. The ε in αἰτιαθέντω(ν) is typical of the fourth century. In general, the text displays a clearly legible hand, of which a parallel can be seen in *PGB* 38b (P.Berol.inv.7822) dated to 348 A.D. Thus, the order was written after

<sup>34</sup> To this list four more orders should be added: P.Oxy.LXV 4485-6, P.Yale inv.1347 (publ. by Stephens, 1993, p.223) and P.Harris inv.47c (publ. by Gonis, 1998-99, pp.65-7).



the mid-third century, at which date the formulas used in such documents changed radically, following the general reform of the taxation and administrative systems of Egypt, which took place in the reign of Philippus Arabs, that is 244-249 A.D.; on these reforms, see Parsons, 1967, pp.134-141 and his introduction to P.Oxy. XLII 3046-50, and Bianchi, 1983, pp.185-198.

There have been published so far thirteen 'orders to summons' from the Oxyrhynchite nome to be dated after the middle of the third century. From the point of diction they vary (see U. Hagedorn, 1979, pp.69-70), but some of them follow two discernible patterns (see the introduction of P.Oxy. LXI 4114-6). This order seems to follow the second one: ἐξ αὐτῆς παράδοτε τῷ ἀποσταλέντι . . . τὸν δεῖνα ἐντυχόντος τοῦ δεῖνος. All cases between c.250 and the later fourth century, specify in the indented heading the official issuing the order, in the form π(αρά) + genitive. For various possibilities for restoration of the officials sending the order and of the ones addressed, see the consolidated list, *op.cit.*, and Drexhage, 1989, pp.106-112.

Finally, two features of this order could be pointed out: it is an order to effect a 'collective' summons (for parallels, see Drexhage, 1989, pp.114-5), and it specifies the professions and public positions of the individuals involved (Drexhage, 1989, pp.115-6).

. . . . .

] . . [±5]. . [.]. . . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ ±3 ] . . [.].

]οὔετρανῶν καὶ Ἀνουβᾶν ποιμένα αἰτιαθέντων(ν)

]ωρίωνος βουλευτοῦ. (2.H.) σεσημ(είωμαι).

2 αἰτιαθεντῶ<sup>1</sup> 1. αἰτιαθέντας. 3 σεση<sup>~</sup>

. . . . .

] . . [±5]. . [.]. . . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ ±3 ] . . [.].

] of the veterans and Anoubas, the shepherd, accused

]orion, bouleutes. (2.H) Signed.

1 The reconstruction of this line is pretty hopeless. Several traces from the feet of letters are visible, which are open to many possibilities. The circlet between ι (of καὶ) and α (of Ἀνουβᾶν) could belong to α, κ, even θ. The oblique and vertical lines visible

above α and θ of αἰτιαθέντω(ν) could belong to λ and φ respectively. In that case, the restoration to ἀδελφὸν would be plausible ([ἀδε]λφ[ὸ]ν ?). For ‘orders to summons’ preserving accusations against brothers, or generally persons belonging to the same family, see Gonis, 1998-9, p.66 n.3.

2 οὐετρανῶν: for this Latin military word effective throughout the centuries of Roman dominance in Egypt, see Daris, <sup>2</sup>1991, p.80. The most recent discussion on topics related to the veterans in Egypt, such as recruitment and settlement, legal and economic status, is included in Alston, 1995. A plausible restoration in our piece could be ἀπὸ οὐετρανῶν, same formula attested in P.Wisc.I 33,2 (147 A.D., Fayum) and CPR I 244,1 (II/III, Fayum), or υἱοῦς οὐετρανῶν, as in BGU VII 1634,11 (229-30 A.D., Fayum). The first suggestion, which I think is preferable, could refer to one or more accused veterans of the Roman Army. Sijpesteijn, however, in his commentary to P.Wisc.I 33,2 has argued, after taking into account information from the group of papyri relating to Ptolemaius and his family (P.Wisc.I, pp.118ff.), that it was Ptolemaius’ father who should have held the status of οὐετρανός. Additionally, Keenan is reported to have suggested that ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν in P.Lond.III 1001,7 (Hermopolites, 539 A.D.) should be translated ‘of military status’ or ‘of military family’ by analogy of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων (see Kruit, 1994, p.84f., n.72). The well attested meaning of many parallel prepositional phrases with ἀπὸ + a ‘functionary’ as ‘former officer’, should in our case with no hesitation be dismissed (cf. for instance, Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, 1996, pp.90-2, P.Stras.VI 579,4 (521, Hermopolites), and all the parallels cited by Lewis, 1960, p.186). Since we lack clear information, I think that it would be safer to translate it as ‘belonging to the class, category of the veterans’, cf. P.Herm.Landl., p.13 (ἀπὸ βενεφικιαρίων), p.51 ἀπο διατολ(έων?); Kruit, 1994, p.84f., n.3-4 (ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν). Normally the status of the veterans is stated without regularly mentioning which unit of the Roman army they had been discharged from.

Ἀνουβᾶν: this is a well attested Egyptian name. An Ἀνουβᾶς is accused along with a Διονύσιος and an Ἀμμώνιος in P.Oxy.XII 1505,2-3 dated to the IV century. A possible identification cannot be confirmed.



ποιμένα: a βουκόλος (correction by HC. Youtie, 1979, pp.211-12) is accused in P.Fay.37,2 (III, Psenuris), and an ἀρχιποιμήν in P.Prag.II 126,3 (III, Fayum). For collective information on ποιμένες in Egypt derived from papyri, see CPR XIII, pp. 143-154.

αἰτιαθέντω(ν): (l. αἰτιαθέντας) the scribe made the mistake, presumably influenced by the genitive οὔετρανῶν. This verb is often used to denote the accusers in the published orders from the Oxyrhynchites after the middle of third century (the other verbs attested in the late Oxyrhynchite orders are ἐντυγχάνω in P.Oxy.XLIV 3190,5, and perhaps ἐπελέγχω in P.Oxy.I 64,4 (= W.Chr.475), this last reading is, however, pretty insecure (see *BL* VIII, p.231). The aorist passive participle in accusative of αἰτιάομαι is found in BGU XI 2084,2 (III), P.Köln IV 189,2 (IV/V) both from the Oxyrhynchites, and P.Lond.III 1074,3 (publ. by Sijpesteijn, 1988, pp.73-4; VI/VII) from the Hermopolites. Cf. also P.Amh.II 146,4 (V, Telbonthis), P.Med.48,2 (publ. by Daris, 1958, pp.58-63; VI, Oxyrhynchus?) and P.Mich.X 591,1 (VI, Thminsepi - Heracleopolites), where a different form of the same verb is employed.

3 ὠρίωνoc: the papyrus has broken off at the beginning of the line, therefore, the name of the accuser βουλευτής is not made clear: it could have been Ὠρίων, Δωρίων, Ἰσιδωρίων, Θεωρίων or even the less common Ἑρμοδωρίων, Θωρίων, Μωρίων, Κατωρίων. An Αὐρήλιος Ὠρείων βουλευτής of Oxyrhynchus is attested in P.Oxy.XLIV 3171,19 (described as P.Oxy.ined.1 in Bowman, 1971, appendix i and iv) dated to c.214-250. Even if our βουλευτής is named after the best attested Ὠρίων, he cannot certainly be identified with the one in P.Oxy.XLIV 3171. (Αὐρηλίου)] Ὠρίωνoc βουλευτοῦ is either the accuser's name (or at least of the last of them, if there were more than one) or a patronymic; in any case ὑπὸ should be restored at the beginning of the third line.

βουλευτοῦ: the accuser is also βουλευτής in P.Fay.37,2 (III). When the accuser is given a description, he is usually the bearer of a public office connected with a certain social class. For parallels see Drexhage, 1989, pp.112-113, and P.Oxy.LXV 4486, n.4. For βουλευτής in general, see Bowman, 1971, *passim*, Drew-Bear, 1984, *passim*, and the older study by Wegener, 1946, pp.160-190.



κενημ(είωμα): consistent with the established convention after the middle of the third century, this order also ends with an abbreviated form of κενημείωμα without mentioning the name of the official who issued the order, cf. P.Cair.Isid.131,8 (314 A.D.) and P.Oxy.LXI 4116, n.4 (late III - early IV). After the order had been written by the scribe in the office of the issuing authority, the latter had to sign it.

## V. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

19

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS

16 2B.47/F (d) part

9.3 x 13.6 cm.

late III A.D.

Plate XV.

The papyrus contains a private contract, whereby an apparently prominent man in Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Dionysius, gymnasiarch and bouleutes, acknowledges a debt of four hundred drachmas from Aurelius Seuthes. The nature of the original transaction which lies behind this financial obligation of Dionysius is not revealed in the course of the surviving part of this document, which is not necessarily a loan. The text has been written by the same scribe in duplicate, each copy occupying a single column, with both copies remaining attached to each other.<sup>35</sup> It was written in the form of a χειρόγραφον (ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν). Although the name χειρόγραφον suggests that it was written by the contracting party, it was normally written by a person with some more experience in legal matters and writing, unless in this case Aurelius Dionysius was competent enough to set himself the task.

The papyrus is light brown and of mediocre quality. The first column remains intact till l.15, then it has suffered heavy mutilation till l.20, where the papyrus breaks off. From the second column less than half of the first fourteen lines is preserved. As far as they can be observed, the texts of the two columns are identical apart from the fact that the line divisions do not always correspond (see also l.ii.14 below, for a possible minor variation). The bottom of the papyrus is also lost, with the consequent loss of endorsements which one would expect in a document of this sort. At the top there is a margin of 1.2 cm., at the left of c.1 cm., and finally the intercolumnium measures 1.2 cm. The text runs parallel to the fibres, and the back is blank. Owing to the poor condition of the sheet in the second column, which is visible at its very right edge, the papyrus has

<sup>35</sup> A catalog of duplicate papyri has been drawn up by Nielsen. 2000. pp.187-214.

been mended by a vertical strip of papyrus c.1.5 cm. wide. The 'patch' is of lighter colour and the writing does not run smoothly across its vertical fibers. The sheet of the papyrus has been folded vertically down the centre, and is marred by small holes (ll.i.1-3, ii. 2-4, i.12ff.) and loss of the fibres of the front surface, e.g. at the beginning of l.i.12.

The hand displays an easy and rapid execution, typical of a clerk's hand of the end of the third century A.D. Letters are cursive and compressed, two features which become more intense as the writing moves through highly formulaic territory, cf. ll.i.3 and 5-6. They are medium to small, and are united in ligatures, which gives the impression that they are sometimes grouped into words. The initial letters of the lines are enlarged, even the tiny *o*, while at the end of the line the *hastae* of the last letters are lengthened. The hand emphasises the curved lines, while the uprights are furnished with serifs and hooks. The bilinearity of the hand is interrupted by *ι*, the cursive *φ* (ll.i.10, 11) and *ρ* (l.i.12), which normally curls up inside the line. Ligatures to note are *ει* (l.i.7), *αρ* (l.i.12), *υρ* (l.i.13), *υτ* (l.i.5) and *τρ* (l.i.14). Marked abbreviation is employed in a couple of common words (ll.i.5, 9) and trema on the *ι* of *υῖός* (l.4).

The general effect of the hand is much like that of PSI V 453 from Theadelphia, which is larger and more cursive than this one, and PSI V 472 from Oxyrhynchus (plates in Norsa, *Papiri Greci*, tav.XIX), dated to 250 and 295 A.D. respectively. In similar hands are also written PSI I 83 (P. Flor.XII, tav.XXXII) dated to 293 A.D., and PSI III 164 (plate in P.Flor.XII, tav.XXXI, 287 A.D.), both from Oxyrhynchus.

col.i	col.ii
Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος	Αὐρήλιος[
γυμνασίαρχος[ε βο]υλευτής	μνασίαρχ[
τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξ[υρ]υγχειτῶν πό	τῆς λαμπρ[
λεως υῖός Cαραπίωνος Διο	πόλεως υῖο[
5 νυκίου γυμν(ασιαρχήσαντος) πρυτανεύ	Διονυκίου[
σαντος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως	νεύσαντος[
Αὐρηλίῳ Cεύθῃ Ὠρείῳ	Αὐρηλίῳ C[
νος μητρὸς Ἀννίδος ἀπὸ	νος μητρ[



	τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρει(ν).	τῆς αὐτῆ[
10	ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν σοι [[α]]	ὁμολογῶ[
	τὰς φανείας ἐν ἐμοὶ	τὰς φανεῖς[
	[ἐκ] λόγου συνάρσεως, ἀρ	ἐκ λόγου ς[
	γυρίου Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ νομίσμα	γυρίου Σεβασ[
	τος δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας	.....[
15	κεφαλαίου, ὧν τάξομαι	. . . . .
	ςϛ[.].[.]. . . . . μιὰ[. .].[.?	
	. [.] [.] [.] . . [.] [.] τοῦ μηνὸς	
	ἐκάστο[υ] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς	
	Χοι[ά]κ τ[ο]ῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος	
20	[ -10- ] ἀπο[	
	-12- ] ντο[	
	[ -11- ] αθα[	
	. . . . .	

col.i:

3 1.Ὀξύρυγχιτῶν 4 υἱὸς 5 γυμν[ς] 7 1.Ὡρίωνος 9 χαίρει

‘Aurelius Dionysius, gymnasiarch, bouleutes of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Sarapion, son of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis of the same city, to Aurelius Seuthes, son of Horion, his mother being Annis, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I owe you the capital sum of four hundred drachmas of Augustan silver coinage, which has appeared to me from computation of the account, of which I shall pay. . . . . per month from this month Choiak of the present year. . . . . ’

col.i:

1-2 Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος: an Aurelius Dionysius bouleutes is attested in P.Oxy.XLIV 3171, dated to 214-250 A.D. (P.Oxy.ined.1 in Bowman, 1971, Appendix B), and could be identified with this one.

2 γυμνασίαρχο[c: see in general Oertel, 1917, pp.316-325; Van Groningen, 1924, *passim*; Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.19, and Sijpesteijn, 1986, *passim*.

βοῦλευτής: for town councillors see Bowman, 1971, *passim*, and the older study by Wegener, 1946, pp.160-190. This document supports the view of strong hereditary tendency regarding eligibility for membership of the boule (Bowman, 1971, p.30, and Drew-Bear, 1984, pp.316-7), as well as for gymnasiarchy, in view of the fact that Sarapion, Dionysius' father had also been bouleutes (and then prytanis).

3-4 τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξύρηνχου πόλεως: this honorific title of Oxyrhynchus, provides a *terminus post quem* for the dating of this document, that is c.269 A.D., see D. Hagedorn, 1973, pp.281ff. Taking into account that since the introduction of the honorific formula λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη (271/2 A.D.) till its vanishing from the documents (last securely dated example in 511) the plain formula (λαμπρά) was not employed, -apart from very few exceptions in Hagedorn, 1973, pp.286ff. with the addition of P.Oxy.LIV 3748, 3749, 3751, 3752, 3758 and 3760- the assumption that this document was written within the short span of 269-271/2 is irresistible. In that case, the document may be written during either the reign of Claudius (268-270 A.D.) or of Aurelian (270-5 A.D.). Between these two the very short reign of Quintillus is to be placed (lasted a couple of months at the most), of which, however, there are no attestations in the papyri, see Bureth, 1964, pp.121-123, and Rathbone, 1986, pp.121-122.

4 υἱός: for the use of this word within the self-identification of a person in connection with his father's social rank (cf. ll.5-6) in documents of the Greek-Roman period, see D. Hagedorn, 1990, pp.277-282.

Καραπίωνος: this former gymnasiarch and prytanis could not be identified with anyone listed in Sijpesteijn, 1986, Bowman, 1971, Appendix A, or elsewhere. Only an Aurelius Sarapion, agoranomos and bouleutes, is attested in chronological proximity to this document, namely in P.Oxy.XLIV 3171 (cf. n.1), but apparently the identification cannot be confirmed.



4-5 Διονυτίου: this appears to be one more instance of the well attested practice in Roman Egypt, often to name a man after his paternal grandfather (cf. 1.1), although due to lack of additional evidence one is not in a position to know for certain what determined the naming of a specific person. See further Hobson, 1989, pp.157-168.

Γυμν: bearing in mind that Aurelius Dionysius (1.1-2) is the current gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and according to the norm regarding the order of the offices in a titlature that ‘previous offices precede current ones in ascending order’ (Bowman, 1971, p.134 n.14) the abbreviation should without hesitation be resolved to γυμν(ασιάρχικαντος). Van Groningen, 1924, pp.135-6, draws a distinction between γυμνασιάρχικας and γεγυμνασιάρχηκός, that is the two variants of the title ‘ex-gymnasiarch’, defining the former as *factus gymnasiarchus*, qui est devenu gymnasiarque’, inferior to the latter who is the one ‘qui a accompli les fonctions de la gymnasiarchie’; however, he himself is aware that he has not given a definite answer.

5-6 πρυτανεύσαντος: on prytanis see Oertel, 1917, pp.343-49; Bowman, 1971, pp.53-67; Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.44, and Schubert, 1989, pp.235-242.

7-8 Αὐρηλίῳ Σεύθῃ Ὠρείωνος: the name is rather infrequently met with, therefore it is tempting to attempt an identification with people by the same name already attested in the papyri, the most prominent of whom is Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης ὁ καὶ Ὠρίων, attested as gymnasiarch in P.Oxy.XLV 3246,6 (297/8?), and as the earliest known *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus, already being in office in 303 A.D. For all the attestations (with the addition of P.Oxy.LXI 4122 of 305 A.D. and P.Oxy.LXIII 4354 of 307 A.D.) concerning Seuthes’ career, see P.Oxy.LIV, App.I. If this identification stands a chance of being correct, our document refers to the period, when Seuthes did not yet hold any office. The apparent difficulty is that in this document Ὠρίωνος is a patronymic, while in his references as logistes it is a double name, and his patronymic is never mentioned. It could be assumed that Seuthes had a second name after his father’s (for this practice in Roman Egypt, see Hobson, 1989, pp.166-8) and in the above cases either his patronymic or double name was omitted (cf. R. Calderini, 1941, pp.249-252); or even that when he took office, he acquired a second Greek name after his father’s. A Seuthes is attested in the small Philantinoos’ archive, namely in P.Harris II 230-1 (296-7 A.D.), P.Oslo III 135



(286-293 A.D.) and 146 (IV), in P.Oslo III 135 as bearer of the titles of gymnasiarch and senator of Oxyrhynchus, who could perhaps be identified with the one of our document. There are a couple more instances of a Seuthes who could potentially be identified with this one: in P.Mich.XIV 676,25 (272 A.D., Oxy.) an Aurelius Seuthes without patronymic or double name is acting as a guardian of an orphan; in P.Oxy.VIII 1140,1 (293 A.D.), an order similar to the ones of the Philantinoos' archive, and finally in P.Oxy.I 41 (late III - early IV), a report of a popular demonstration made in honour of the prytanis at Oxyrhynchus on the occasion of the visit of a praefect, a Seuthes is acclaimed as πρωτοπολίτης, ἱεάρχων, ἱκοπολίτης (l.28). For a discussion on the possible identifications of people named Seuthes in the papyri, see P.Harris II 230-4, Introduction, pp.165-6.

8 Ἀννίδος: the female name Ἀννίς is not attested frequently, and is not cited in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The only four certain occurrences are in late Oxyrhynchite documents, namely P.Genova I 22,3 (345 A.D.), P.Oxy.LXIII 4398,13 (553 A.D.), SB XVI 12585,1 (557 A.D.), and P.Hamb.III 221,11 (580 A.D.). Its accentuation distinguishes it from the similar, but commoner, male name Ἀννίς (Ἀννίδος and Ἀννεώς), and should be corrected in P.Oxy.LXIII 4398,13.

10 ὁμολογῶ: in the context of this document this verb may be used after the greetings to start off a *Dispositivurkunde im engeren Sinne*, that is a document, where 'die Homologie allein Voraussetzung der Haftung ist' (see Von Soden, 1973, p.112 n.2). For the definition of the Dispositivurkunde in broader and in narrower sense, see Rupprecht, 1967, p.49.

ὀφείλειν σοι: for the employment of the verb ὀφείλειν in *Homologie*-Documents, see Von Soden, 1973, pp.111-116, and Kühnert, 1965, pp.25-26, 146-148 and 157. The former characterizes the document introduced through this construction as 'begründetes abstraktes Schuldanerkenntniss....wobei die Urkunde für die Begründung der Schuld dispositiv sein könnte' (pp.111-2). It is true that this document acknowledges a debt, but does not clarify in detail the specific transaction which lies behind it. For Kühnert (1965, pp.146-7) 'das Wort ὀφείλειν hat weder eine eigene typische Ausprägung noch eine besondere juristische Bedeutung'. Therefore, this verb may indicate any type of

indebtedness. In the common loan contracts the verb employed in the standard formula of acknowledgement after ὁμολογ-ῶ/εἶ/οὔει is ἔχω as ἔχειν or ἐσχηκέναι.

[[α]]: the scribe wrote initially α perhaps for ἀργυρίου, which he himself immediately crossed through.

11 ἐν ἐμοί: for the specific function of this prepositional phrase here meaning ‘in der Hand, Macht, Gewalt, zur Verfügung jemandes’, and for further examples in cases of accountancy, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 2, par.116 Ib,δ.

12 At the beginning of the line the horizontal fibres which bear the writing have vanished, but have survived in the second column, according to which the line has been filled.

ἐκ] λόγου [c]υνάρσεως: in this context κύναρσις should mean ‘revised computation, reckoning’. The same phrase ἐκ/ ἀπό λόγου συνάρσεως is attested in P.Kron.16,17 (Tebtunis, 138), P.Fouad I 26,54 (Arsinoe, 157-9), P.Amh.II 101,4 (Ashmunen, early III A.D.), P.Laur.II 25,8-9 (Alexandria, 293-4). On the definitions of κύναρσις in the papyri, see P.Laur.II 25 n.8-9, and CPR XIV 43 n.II 1.

12-13 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ νομίματος: for this monetary term in the papyri, see West - Johnson, 1944, pp.67-8, and Christiansen, 1984, pp.286-291. It is actually the billon tetradrachm, equated to the Roman denarius, which was introduced by Tiberius and stopped being minted with Diocletian’s first monetary reform, which has been dated convincingly to 296 A.D. (by Metcalf in a paper at the American Research Center in Egypt annual meeting in Boston 1981, see Bagnall, 1985, p.19 n.2). However, after the end of the minting of the tetradrachms, the drachma continued to be in use as an accounting term for payments actually made in denarii, still calculated as 4 drachmas = 1 denarius (Bagnall, 1985, p.11).

13 Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ: the right oblique of υ is clear, therefore the document was written at the time of a sole emperor; exceptions, however, are attested, see P.Oxy.XLIV 3198 n.9, where P.Mich.III 188 and XI 605 are cited, both written by the same scribe, to use



Κεβακτῶν in the reign of Hadrian. In P.Oxy.XLI 2951 n.24-5 Crawford has contributed that terms such as Augustan among others ‘are all no more than conventional terms intended to express the hope that the coinage which they describe is good’.

14 δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας: the amount is divisible by four, therefore, it could be plausibly payable in billon tetradrachms.

15 ὦν (sc. δραχμῶν) τάξομαι: this verb is used as a synonym for the commonly employed ἀποδώσω in acknowledgements of loans; it is also employed in P.Col.X 277,11 (225 A.D., Oxy.), XXII 2350,23 (223/4 A.D.), XXXVI 2775,16 (late III A.D.), VIII 1125,8 (II A.D.) and P.Yale I 68,7 and 38 (204 A.D., Oxy., reed. by D. Hagedorn - Thomas, 1973, pp.131-141). The former three contracts are loans of wheat, while in the latter two, which involve loans of money, the verb τάξομαι does not mean ‘pay’ but ‘berechnen’ or ‘anrechnen’, that is ‘put on account’, see P.Yale I 68 n.7.

16 For the reconstruction of this line, I would suggest ἐν[ν] τ[ό]κ[ο]ις δραχμιαί[ο]ις, but the reading τ[ό]κ[ο]ις is difficult, and even the initial ἐν is not secure. The set expression for the usual rate of interest, namely 1% a month, which was defined as the legal maximum by par.105 of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (BGU V 1210), commonly begins with τόκου δραχμιαίου, but the formula ἐν τόκῳ/ τόκοις is well attested, as for instance in P.Oxy.III 507,13,18-9,35-6 (169 A.D.), P.Kron. 16,18 (138 A.D.), CPR XVIIB 11,40, 13,18, 17,19 (217-8 A.D.), and is translated ‘including interest’ by Lewis, 1945, pp.129, 131, 135. An objection to this reconstruction could be raised with respect to the syntax: after ὦν τάξομαι one would expect a noun, e.g. τόκον, and not a prepositional phrase, unless one supplies the gap in l.17 with the amount of money paid in each month, e.g. δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, but I have not managed to fit it in the traces. Alternatively but more unlikely, in ll.16-18 one may expect the number of monthly instalments in which the debt will be paid along with the amount paid in each of them, cf. for instance P.Oxy.Hels.43,15ff. (late III?), P.Mil.Vogl.IV 243,7-12 (IV), and P.Oxy.I 98,17 (141-2 A.D.). On interest in papyri, see Finckh, 1962, *passim*, Hermann, 1962, pp.23-31.



17 The preserved foot of the first letter suggests mostly λ or χ, followed by an upright. Three letter-positions before τοῦ μηνός, the curl at the bottom of the letter could belong to several letters, e.g. ρ, ε, υ, c, v. However, the sequence of the common formula that has been suggested in 1.16 cannot be restored easily. It would have been expected ἐκάστης μηνᾶς/ ἐκάστη μηνᾶ/ τῇ μηνᾶ/ ὥς τῆς μηνᾶς (for examples of attestation of each phrase in the papyri, see P.Ups.Frid 3 n.5-6), but the traces at the beginning of the line are not compatible. Perhaps μ]νᾶ or μ]νᾶ[ς could be restored just before τοῦ μηνός.

17-18 τ οῦ μ]ηνός ἐκάστ[ο]υ: the formula more frequently occurs as κατὰ μῆνα ἑκάκτον, but minor variations, as this one, are frequently attested, for which see P.Ups.Frid 3 n.5-6.

18 At the end of the line there seems to be space for μηνός.

19 The χ of Χοι[ά]ς is written on the top of a round letter. The line may have ended with the mention of the imperial year after ἐνεστῶ[τος].

20 At the beginning of the line the upper half of an upright is visible, on the top of which lies a hook facing left. It could be either κ or the symbol of ἔτους.

21ff. In these lines the interest for the excess period may have been mentioned. Exempli gratia the following lines may be partly restored as: ἐὰν δὲ μ]ὴ ἀπο[δῶ ἐκτί |<sup>21</sup> ὦ τοῦ ὑπερπερ]όντος [χρόνου |<sup>22</sup> τ]οὺς/ ἡ]γουσ τοκους κ]αθά[περ ἐκ |<sup>23</sup> δίκης.

col.ii:

14 This line cannot be restored with certainty. At the beginning a high horizontal could suggest τ, and the line may run as the one in the first column, but the identification of particular letters is not straightforward. Two letter-positions before the piece breaks off, a letter resembling τ is visible, which would suggest the initial letter of τετρακοσία. In that case, the line would run: τοῖς δραχμαῖς τε. Otherwise, one may think of a symbol of drachmas employed at the beginning of the line, but at the end of the preserved line the identification of the expected letters c, ι, α (from τετρακοσία) is problematic.

## SALE AND CESSION OF VINELAND AND WHEATLAND.

44 5B.62/C (7-8)b + (9-10)b<sup>2</sup>

i) 8.00 x 10.1 cm.

257/8 A.D.

ii) 12.3 x 29.3 cm.

Plate XVI.

The present two fragments have survived from a contract of sale and cession. The smaller piece preserves the left margin and the beginnings of ll.13-30 of the larger one. As can be deduced from the restoration of ll.37-39 which bear the regnal year and the imperial titulature, each line (apart from lines 40-43) averaged 90-100 letters, which suggests a column-width of c.25 cm., an expected figure for a contract of sale. This means that the loss of the text amounts to about 60 letters at the beginning of every line apart from ll.13-30, where approximately 30 letters have been lost from the central part of the lines. Moreover, at least one line has vanished at the top of the document, of which only a trace survives, while several small and bigger holes mar the surface of the papyrus, in particular at the folds, e.g. the holes starting in l.17 and reaching l.24. Three vertical folds are visible in the smaller fragment and four vertical and one horizontal in the larger, the latter almost in the middle of the surviving piece. A left-hand side margin of c.2 cm. and a bottom one of 4 cm. are exhibited. At the right-hand side the lines run up almost to the edge, normally by extending right-hand parts of the last letters, e.g. α, c, v, υ. The text runs parallel to the fibres and the back is blank.

This document is written in two different hands. The presence of the second in the subscription proves the contract to be original and not a copy. The hand of the main text displays a confident and rapid execution, typical of a practised and professional hand of the third century, similar for instance to *PGB* 36a+b (236 A.D.) and Seider I 46 (259 A.D.). Letters are decently cursive, medium to small and united in ligatures. Bilinearity is violated through the boldly projected verticals of ρ in particular, also φ, sometimes ι, π, and the extended upwards right arm of the v-shaped υ, and the cap of c which bends downwards. Stress is put on curved lines, while the uprights are furnished with blobs, serifs and curls. The initial letters of the lines are up to twice as large as the ensuing letters. υ is replaced by a long dash at the end of some lines (ll.4,8,14). Trema is marked with consistency on the top of the initial ι and υ (only in l.36 it is not visible),



and elision is employed in two cases, namely ll.21 and 32, but marked with apostrophe only in the latter. Apart from a few common phonetic mistakes the contract is carefully written in terms of spelling. The second hand, presumably that of the vendor, is large, slow, irregular and clumsy (noteworthy is the  $\eta$  and  $\kappa$ ) with letters labouriously and most of the times separately drawn. This scribe, however, may not be considered among the  $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  (see Youtie, 1971b, pp.239-261), but among scribes who have slightly more advanced pretensions regarding their writing capacity, as the ones described by Youtie, 1971b, p.256 and n.78; or to use Cribiore's classification (1996, p.33) one could say that this second hand reveals a scribe who managed to progress up to the level of the so-called 'evolving hand', without ever achieving the 'rapid hand'.

The papyrus contains a contract of sale and cession of catocic land in three plots from at least two different cleruchic allotments, around a village or more in the Oxyrhynchite, one presumably of the middle toparchy. More specifically, the property sold consists of two plots of vineyards, along with reed-bed and other appurtenances, and a piece of wheatland, all from the cleros of Horos, and one more plot of land, probably vineyard, from a different cleros (of X and Theodoros). The purchaser should be a minor girl, who is acting through an  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . Details regarding previous ownership, boundaries, size of the land sold, even the names and status of the people involved in the transaction seem beyond recovery, and therefore interesting information concerning the third century society and economy in an Egyptian province cannot be extracted. For instance, from the subscription we learn that the property costed two thousand five hundred drachmas; however, since we are not aware of the exact size of the land, we cannot attempt comparisons and draw any conclusions. Furthermore, restorations and supplements for so extensive lacunae, whether in formulaic territory or not, are often offered to illustrate the drift of the meaning, while many 'dark' points discussed in the commentary still remain. For the particular contract the parallels which have proved most useful for supplying some missing parts are: P.Oxy.IX 1208 (291 A.D.), XII 1475 (267 A.D.), XIV 1636 (249 A.D.), XXXIV 2723 (III A.D.), XLIX 3498 (274 A.D.), LI 3638 (220 A.D.), P.Gen.II 116 (247 A.D., Oxy.) and P.Wisc.I 9 (183 A.D., Oxy.).



- 1 [ ].
- 2 [ ] . . . .ιδος τοῦ . . [.].ιωνος Θεων[ος?
- 3 [ ].Φιλάντινον Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁμοίως
- 4 [ ]ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦ(ν)
- 5 [ ὑπαρχόντων κοινῶν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὴν κληρονόμους
- 6 [ τῆς μέσης τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ὠρου
- 7 [ καὶ τῆς προσούσης καλαμείας καὶ τροχοῦ ἐπικεχωσμένου
- 8 [ ].ων καὶ τῶν ἐμ πᾶσι καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ φοινείκων καὶ ἐλαιῶ(ν)
- 9 [ ].του κτήματος σειτικῶν ἀρουρῶν ὀκτὼ ἡμίσεις ὀγδόου
- 10 [ ]. .κώμαις καὶ οἰκόπεδα κληρονόμων Σεύθου βορρᾶ δη
- 11 [ ]. .ς δηλουμένη ἀρούρη μία λιβὸς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου με
- 12 [ρους]. [// τὸ πρὶν ἀνὰ μίαν κ(αὶ) ἡμῖς ἀρούρης μιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ
- 13 τροχὸν [-2-]. ]
- 14 του τοῦ καὶ Διογένους γυμνα[ ]ς γυμνασιάρχῃσαντος καὶ ἄλλων λιβὸς τὸ προκείμενο(ν)
- 15 ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα καὶ ε. ]
- 16 δὲ ὅλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ . ]
- 17 ].ου κληρονόμων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ

17 καὶ ὥς ἐχρημάτιζεν . [

] . [±3] .καὶ ἄλλων ἰδιωτικὴ ἀπηλιώτου Ἀμμωνίου οὐετρανοῦ

18 καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει

] . λιβὸς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου ἰδιωτικὴ ἐκ δὲ πάντων τῶν προ

19 κειμένων ὑπαρχ[όντων

] . . . . .νη ἐμαυτ[4-5]. τῶν προκειμένων γειτνιῶν

20 τὸ μὴ ὑποστέλλον τι

] . . . τοῦτο εἶναι σοῦ τῆς παραχωρουμ[έ]νης κατὰ τὸ μὲν πωλού

21 μενόν σοι ὑπ ἐμοῦ[

]νας π[ρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τειμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

22 ἡμῖνους μέρου[

συν]ωνομασμένων αὐτοῖς πάντων ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομῖς

23 ματος δραχμὰς[

] . ..[.] . .ν παρὰ σοῦ δι[ι]ὰ τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρθῶνιος τοῦ καὶ Ὠρίωνος

24 ὥςπερ προφέρετε . . . . . [

] . [.] . [?] . τῶτον αὐτοῦ ἑτέρας οὔσης ὠνουμένης ἔχεις ἀπὸ τοῦ

25 νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς . . . υ[

] . . . τῶν δηλουμένων ὑπαρχόντων πάντων κατ'ἔτος

26 προσόδους πάσας μετὰ τὰ δημό[ια

] . . καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημψομένοις καὶ ἡλι

27 κίας γενομένην μετὰ τὴν π[

] . . [.] . καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὥς ἐὰν αἰρῇ ἀνεμποδίστως

28 ὅπερ καὶ ἐπάναγκον παρέξ[ομαι

]ν πά

[c]η [βε]βαιώσει καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ τε γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς

29 γῆς[καὶ παντ]ὸς εἴδους[

χω]

μάτων καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὔτινός οὐν ἄλλου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε

30 λημμένων δη]μοσίω[ν

]διελθόντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διελθόντος δ (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνε

31 [ετῶτος

] χρόνον πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε (ἔτους)

32 [

]της ἀμπέλου μηδεμιᾶς μοι μηδ' ἄλλω ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο

33 [

ἐ]πελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποησόμενον τούτου χάριν ἢ μέρους

34 [

δί]κης κυρία ἢ παραχώρησις διςσὴ γραφεῖσα ἦνπερ ὀπῆνικα

35 [

]ἐ]τέρᾳς μοι εὐδοκήσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκεῖν με

36 [

] . . ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρθώνιος τοῦ καὶ

37 [ᾠρίωνος

Λικιν]νίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ

38 [

Λικ]ιννίου Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ Ἐπιφανεστάτου

39 [

2.H. 40

]πέπρακα καὶ παρεχώ

41 [ρησα

]καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμέ

42 [νων

δρ]αχμὰς διςχιλίας πεντα

43 [κοσίας

καὶ ἐπε]ρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα

3 l. Φιλαντίνοον? 4  $\overline{\nu\upsilon}$  6 l. Ὁξύρυγχιτου 8 l. ἐν πᾶσι; l. φοινίκων;  $\overline{\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omega}$  9

l.  $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$  12  $\kappa\gamma$  14  $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron}$  17, 18 ἰδιωτικῇ 19 ὑπαρχοντων 20

ὑποστελλον 21 ὑπ ἐμου; ὑπερ; l. τιμῆς 25 ὑπαρχοντων 29 ὑπερ 30, 31  $\int$  32  
μηδ'; ὑπερ

‘ . . . . . idos of Sarapion son of Theon? . . . . . Philantinoos son of Ptolemaios  
alias Alexandros likewise. . . . . I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you  
henceforth. . . . . held in common with the successive heirs. . . . . in the middle



toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite from the allotment of Horos. . . . . of the appurtenant reed-bed and a buried wheel . . . . . and of in all and around them palm trees and olive trees . . . . . of the field of eight and five eighths arourae of wheatland. . . . . (in) villages(?) and sites belonging to the heirs of Seuthes, in the north. . . . . the mentioned (below) one aroura, in the west from the southern part. . . . . formerly taxed at one and a half (artabai) every one aroura, and of the wheel in it. . . . . [in the south] natural depressions and appurtenances of the vineyard, in the north property belonging to Heracleides alias Diogenis (former?) gymnasiarch. . . . . former gymnasiarch and of others, in the west the above vineyard and. . . . . and from the allotments of X and Theodoros two arourae or as many as there may be and all taken together. . . . . (in the south land) of the heirs of Apollonios alias Claudianos and however he was styled. . . . . and of others private land, in the east of Ammonius the veteran and however he is styled. . . . . and in the west from the southern part private land, and from all the above property. . . . . for? myself from the aforementioned as a neighbour; and what has not been put (into the conveyance?). . . . . this belongs to you to whom the land is ceded, with regard to what is sold to you by me. . . . . between us in respect of the price and cession-fee for the same half share. . . . . and of all the things named along with all these, namely (two thousand five hundred) drachmas of the imperial silver coinage. . . . . from you through Aurelius Harthonis alias Horion, which you declare. . . . . other being the purchaser than him(?), you have henceforth. . . . . of all the aforesaid property all the yearly revenues, after the taxes are paid. . . . . and your descendants and successors, and when she reaches her majority after . . . . . (use) and dispose of it in whatever way you may choose unhindered, which I shall necessarily deliver to you (guaranteed against all claims) by every guarantee and free from liability to the cultivation of royal and domain land and from every taxation (and from maintenance work and water guarding on the state-dikes) and from every other obligation whatever and from the public dues payable on them (and from extraordinary imposts and compulsory cultivation of any kind) up to and including the past fourth year, because the profits from the present (fifth year belong to you, to whom the land is ceded) for ever (?), for which the public dues from the present fifth year and. . . . . of the vineyard, (no right to make claim) upon it (or any part of it being left) to me or to any other on my behalf (in any way), and anyone (who in any way whatsoever) takes any legal action or makes any claim in respect of it or a part of it

(I shall of necessity oppose at my own expense according to the customary) legal procedure. The cession written in two copies is authoritative, and you may publish it whenever (you choose through the record office without the necessity) of my further concurrence, because I hereby give my consent (to the future public registration). To your question through Aurelius Harthonis alias Horion (whether this has been done rightly and properly I have been given my agreement. Fifth year of the Imperatores Caesares Publius) Licinnius Valerianus and Publius Licinnius Valerianus (Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius) Licinnius Cornelius Valerianus nobilissimus (Caesar, Augusti, .....’.

(2.H.) ‘. . . . . have sold and ceded (the half share of the aforesaid. . . . . ) and all the things named with them, (and I have received) two thousand five hundred drachmas (of the price and the cession-fee and I shall guarantee and give my consent to the public registration) and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent’.

1-4 In these four lines is expected the opening of the sale document in the form of the epistolary opening: X in nominative Y in dative *χαίρειν*, both normally referred to by name, patronymic, title, origins etc. Therefore, it is difficult to accommodate the accusative *Φιλαντίνοον* in a context where nominatives, genitives and datives are expected, unless it is a scribal mistake.

1 The vertical of a long letter reaching the second line, possibly belonging to a *ρ*, survives from this line.

2 ].....ιδoc: the first visible trace belongs to a long letter, while the letter before ι should be ω or μ. Just before the latter, part of a lower curve joins the left-hand part of ω or μ. The only genitive of male name I could think of that fits the traces is *Ψάμμιδoc*.

...[.]ιωvoc *Θέων*[oc?: in the first name the last three letters are pretty clear, while the two long verticals are compatible with *ρ* and ι. The high basis of a flat letter just before voc very likely belongs to an ω, therefore *Ḳαρ[α]πίωvoc* is an irresistible restoration. Without excluding other possibilities of names beginning with *Θεων* (see *NB*, p.138), *Θέων* is by far the most common. It is only a sheer conjecture that this patronymic, if



correctly restored, could be related to the influential Alexandrian family of Tiberii Iulii Theones, who owned estates in the Oxyrhynchite, and are traceable from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. (see P.Theon = *Stud.Amst.V*). Two people bearing the name of Tiberius Iulius Sarapion, the former son of Theon, appear in second century Oxyrhynchite documents (see P.Theon., pp.1-2), and they certainly belong to this family. Since both names, Sarapion and Theon are frequent in Oxyrhynchus, it is impossible to say whether this person could be connected to this family, cf. P.Theon., p.4, n.14 on the case of the gymnasiarch *Καραπίων ὁ Θεώνος*, attested in P.Oxy.inv.34 4B.73/B (1-2)a (publ. by Sullivan, 1973, pp.5-13, dated to 16 A.D.).

3 *Φιλάντινον* (l.*Φιλαντίνοον*?) *Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου*: *Φιλαντίνοος* is a well attested name which could suggest connections with Antinoopolis, as for instance in P.Oxy.XLIV 3167,22 (195-8 A.D.) and XLIX 3477,11-2 (270 A.D.), while his patronymic could imply Alexandrian origins. On chronological grounds, the document cannot be associated with the Philantinoos' archive in P.Harris II 230-4 and P.Oslo III 135 and 146 (late III - early IV A.D., Oxyrhynchites), see 19 n.7-8, unless this *Φιλαντίνοος* is an ancestor of the one in the archive.

4 At the beginning of the line is expected the purchaser's place of origin, being apparently common (l.3 *ὁμοίως*) with the vendor's.

*ὁμολογῶ* (cf. also l.43): this contract is clearly in the form of a subjective homologia or cheirographon on the part of the vendor, whose declaration was already in the Ptolemaic epoch considered the most important (see Pringsheim, 1950, pp.109-110). This is the commonest but not the unique form in which the Oxyrhynchite sales are written, for the other possible forms, see Montevicchi, 1943, pp.22-25. The meaning of the verb in such documents is the common 'anerkennen, gestehen, nicht bestreiten', see Von Soden, 1973, pp.24-5.

*πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι* (cf. also ll.20,21,40): the land sold in this document should be catoicic, that is land handed out to the catoicic cavalymen and other ranks of soldiers under the Ptolemies, but it formed a category of private property in the Roman period. For the development of the legal status of catoicic land, see



Rowlandson, 1996, pp.43-48. Although private in status under the Romans, relics of its non-private status remained: it was sold, for instance, through a contract of παραχώρησις and not of πρᾶσις, and accordingly the price was termed παραχωρητικόν instead of τιμή. However, as Rowlandson points out (1996, p.181 and n.19) by the third century a terminological change took place in sale contracts in general, that is, 'a combined formula of sale and cession became the norm for all property, urban as well as agricultural', which is in effect in the present contract.

5 At the beginning of the line one should supply εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (e.g. P.Oxy.IX 1208,8; XLIX 3498,5; LI 3638,5) or εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον (e.g. P.Oxy.1475,13; XIV 1636,5-6; 1696,5; 1697,7; P.Gen.II 116,4).

κοινῶν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὴν κληρονόμους: the three plots of vineyard that are ceded were apparently held *in communio pro indivisio*, that is they were joint property, physically undivided, see Weiss, 1908, pp.353ff., Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, p.242, and Montevicchi, 1943, pp.46-9.

6 The name of the village in the middle toparchy was certainly mentioned before the papyrus break: περὶ κώμην X τῆς μέσ]ης τοπαρχίας.

6-7 ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ὠρου [κλήρου]: the purchased land appears to consist of three parcels, belonging to -very likely- two different κλήροι, two contiguous plots (ll.11 and 14-15) in the κλήρος of Ὠρος, and one more parcel in the ones of X and Θεόδωρος (l.15). This cession, therefore, further testifies to the remarkable degree of landholding fragmentation in different, but also within the same κλήροι. For a detailed study of landholding fragmentation particularly in the Oxyrhynchite, mostly because of inheritance, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.124-138 and 171-175.

6 Ὠρου: this cleros' name has not been attested before in the Oxyrhynchite. The one mentioned in PSI Congr.XX 8,3 (II A.D.) should on available evidence be placed in the Arsinoites (see n.5 of that document). Zucker, 1964, pp.101-6, states that permanent cleros names were set after the original Greek military holders at least as early as 73

B.C. (cf. P.Oxy.XIV 1628,10), and that they should be considered identifications used for topographical descriptions.

7 τῆς προκούσης καλαμείας: reeds were used to construct trellises, on which vines are trained. For reed-plantations adjoining vineyards and generally the cultivation of reeds in connexion with a vineyard, see the detailed n.7 of P.Oxy.XIV 1631 (280 A.D.), and Ricci, 1924, pp.26 and 31-38, where the whole procedure of καλαμουργία is being described after the aforementioned P.Oxy.1631 and P.Oxy.XIV 1692 (188 A.D.); cf. also P.Oxy.XLVII 3354 (257 A.D.), Schnebel, 1924, pp.255-262, and Rathbone, 1991, pp.248ff.

τροχοῦ ἐπικεχωμένου: cf. P.Theon.25,4ff. (160 A.D.): εἰς μισθοὺς ἐκκαφῆς τροχοῦ [.]conπώσιος κεχωμένου δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτῶ]. HC. Youtie, 1967, pp.168-9 states that the collapse and burial of a water-wheel could not have been a novelty in rural Egypt, and that if it were to be used again, it would have to be dug out, as here, and replaced on a solid foundation, cf. P.Oxy.1475,16ff.: εἰτικὰς καὶ ἑτέρας ἀρούρας ἕνδεκα, ἐν αἷς λάκκος συνευρεκὼς καὶ ὁ τροχὸς ὁμοίως συνευρεκὼς cὺν τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ μηχανῇ, and the λάκκος κεχωμένος in P.Cair.Good.15,9, and P.Stras.VI 555,12 and 556,8. The presence of a water-wheel, even buried, would suggest that the vineyard was on high ground, therefore it was dependent on artificial irrigation. For the τροχός, the indispensable device for the raising of water, see Schnebel, 1924, p.81, and Forbes, 1955, p.37, who both identify it with the irrigation machine of the type of ‘sakiyeh’. According to Forbes, ‘it was made of wood and encased in masonry’. However, Oleson in a more recent study has examined thoroughly the papyrological evidence on water-lifting mechanical devices (1984, pp.126ff.), and has identified τροχός with either a tread compartmented wheel (see Oleson, 1984, pp.325-350) or with a part of the saqiya gear (pp.370-385), with the latter especially when it is connected with other parts, e.g. μηχανή, ἐργάτης, ἄξων etc. (pp.132-3). Even if the papyrus had not been so fragmentary, I am not sure whether one could have determined the kind of irrigation machine employed in the under discussion piece of land.



8 καὶ τῶν ἐμ (l.ἐν) πᾶσι καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ φοινείκων καὶ ἐλαιῶ(ν): it was so common in Egypt, as well as in Italy, to plant in vineyards various kinds of trees, most frequently palm-trees, olive-trees and fig-trees, that Ricci (1924, pp.21-3 and 38-9) concludes that the term ‘ἀμπελών’ should have had a more general meaning than vineyard, cf. also P.Oxy.2723,11-2, and 3638,7. On the plantation of palm-trees in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see the detailed study of Hohlwein, 1939, pp.1-74, and still Schnebel, 1924, pp.294-300, the latter as well for the cultivation of olive-trees, pp.302-311.

σειτικῶν (l.σιτικῶν) ἀρουρῶν: this reference would suggest that an adjacent piece of wheatland is sold along with the rest of the vineyard. A mere conjecture could be that this piece of land belonged to a former ἀμπελών, that is a χερσάμπελος, and is now under cultivation of grain, cf. the term γῆ ἀμπελίτις σιτική, that is former vineland converted to grain crops, attested for instance in PSI XIV 1407,7 (181 A.D., Tebtunis) and P.Bodl.I 125 (II, Fayum?), see also Wallace, 1938, p.14. Additionally, since there is evidence that not only χερσάμπελος, but also normal arable land was sometimes leased along with vineland in the same contract, the same combination could possibly occur in a sale contract (see Rowlandson, 1996, p.229 and n.82).

9-10 ὀκτὼ ἡμίσεις ὀγδόου: it is not certain that this is the exact size of the wheatland; more fractions may have continued in the following line.

10-18 In all sales of land there is a section where the neighbours on all sides of the purchased land are listed, in order to supply greater precision to the title to the ownership of land by exactly defining the boundaries. Due to the mutilated condition of the document the boundaries are not entirely recoverable, but I think that the property sold comprised three parcels, the first described in ll.6-12, the second in ll.12-15, and the third clearly in a different cleros in ll.15-18. The first part seems to share boundaries with the second. Owing to the convention to list the neighbouring property in the following order: νότου, βορρᾶ, ἀπηλιώτου, λιβός, these lines could be supplied with the main points of compass which are lost as follows: in l.10 νότου, ἀπηλιώτου in l.11, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ in l.12, νότου (?) in l.13, ἀπηλιώτου in l.14, νότου in l.16?, and βορρᾶ in l.17.



10 κώμαις: ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς κώμαις? Is the land sold scattered in more than one village?

κληρονόμων Σεύθου: the name is rather infrequently met with, therefore it is tempting to attempt an identification with people by the same name already attested in the papyri. However, all of them are excluded, because they appear in documents much later than 257/8 AD, when Seuthes has already died. An assumption could be that he may have belonged in the same, presumably wealthy, family of the most prominent among the Seuthes attested, that is the Aurelius Seuthes alias Orion, the earliest known logistes of Oxyrhynchus, being in office already in 303 AD (for all the attestations concerning his career with the addition of P.Oxy.LXI 4122, see P.Oxy.LIV App.I) who is also very likely identified with the Seuthes mentioned in the Philantinoos' archive (see above, n. on l.3) in P.Harris II 230,1, 231,1 and P.Oslo III 146,1. For all the possibilities, see 19 n.7-8.

10 Perhaps δημοσία ὁδός or γῆ could be supplied. On the land category of δημοσία γῆ, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.38-40. A form of the present past participle of δηλω, e.g. δηλουμένη as in l.11 may have been written, but I cannot accommodate it in the context of this contract.

11 Taking into account the reference to τὸ προκείμενον ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα in ll.14-5, δηλουμένη in this line probably refers to the following. This may have been expressed in this line through a phrase like ἡ ἐξ ἧς δηλουμένη, <sup>36</sup> cf. for instance P.Oxy.XLIX 3465,4 (63/4 A.D.) and P.Oxy.LVIII 3938,16 (601 A.D.).

12 // τὸ πρὶν ἀνὰ μίαν κ(αὶ) ἥμισυ ἀρούρης μιᾶς: the double oblique lines often in the papyri accompany a numeral of year, see Youtie, <sup>2</sup>1974, p.20, n.20. In this context, however, I think that it could follow a numeral related to land, as in the late (V/VI A.D.) VBP IV 92 (publ. by Shelton, 1981, pp.95-8). My impression is that here a piece of private land may be described, whose category is given by means of tax rate in kind, which has changed. I am not aware of this practice in other contracts of sale of land;

perhaps in the present document the status of land changed fairly recently, therefore, the vendor wished to emphasise that. According to this assumption, the current tax rate was mentioned before the two parallel obliques, and was followed by the former tax rate, namely  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabas per aroura; the latter would be a strong indication for the identification of the land taxed at this rate as ex-vineland (see Rowlandson, 1987, p.285 and n.6, eadem, 1996, pp.41-2, 54 and n.82, Wallace, 1938, pp.11-19). The second plot of the property sold may be a newly planted vineyard, that is a νεόφυτον ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα, which would have been taxed more than the ex-vineland. ἀρτάβας would be easily supplied after ἡμῖν, perhaps mentioned before, and thus not repeated.

ἀνὰ: for the use of ἀνά in distributive number relations (distributive Zahlenverhältnisse) see Mayser, *Grammatik*, Band II.2, par.118.

13 At the beginning of the line the first five visible traces are: the bottom of a descending upright of γ, τ, ι, followed by a longer letter slightly curved at two-thirds height, compatible with ρ, φ or ψ, then a minute trace, the ensuing letter likely being α or χ, followed in all probability by ν, before which there is perhaps space for one more small letter, or ο and υ. These readings could suggest τροχόν or τροχόν. In the first case, τῶν in l.12 may be a scribal error for τόν. The ensuing letter seems to be τ or π.

κοιλώματα: the exact nature of κοιλώματα is not clear. Whitehorne has collected all the extant evidence in P.Harris II 224, n.12, which suggests that κοιλώματα were 'series of small natural pits or depressions too water-logged' to allow limited (P.Harris II 224) or any agriculture use at all (P.Hamb.I 12, BGU II 571 and P.Oxy.VI 918). The fact that the χρηστήρια ἀμπέλου were placed close to the κοιλώματα may confirm that they were not to be put to cultivation.

χρηστήρια τῆς ἀμπέλου: these include all the appurtenances of a vineyard, that is all the necessary buildings, tools and machines for the cultivation of the vineyards and for the wine production, cf. Ricci, 1924, pp.25-26, Schnebel, 1924, pp.285-292, and e.g. PSI XII 1328,42-6 (201 A.D., Oxy.), P.Oxy.2723,9-11 and P.Oxy.3638,8-9, where

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<sup>36</sup> I owe this point to Dr. J. Rowlandson.



such appurtenances are specified, for instance, ληνός, πίθος, ἡλιακτήριον, στεμφυλουργικὸν ὄργανον.

13-4 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Διογένους γυμνα[σιάρχου or γυμνα[σιαρχήσαντος: an Heracleides alias Diogenes, son of Diogenes, ex-gymnasiarch is attested in P.Oxy.III 501,1-5 (no.216 in Sijpesteijn, 1986), dated to 187 A.D., too early to be identified with this one, who could be a descendant of his. For γυμνασίαρχος in general, see 19 n.2. Metropolitans, members of the gymnasial class appear often as owners, sellers and purchasers of land in the chora of the nome. The Greek and Roman names of almost all the land owners preserved in this piece (see below, ll.16,17) further suggest that they belonged to a privileged class.

15 ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα: on this term, see Schnebel, 1925, p.242, and Cadell, 1983, p.125, who observes that it is often used in private documents but not in official ones.

καὶ ε .: ε is almost certain, while the second trace is compatible with a κ. An appurtenance of the vineyard could possibly be recovered at this point, and the only suitable word I am aware of is ἔκχυσις/ ἐκχύσεις, a drainage canal, see *WB* s.v.1, which very often in the papyri is/are coupled with ποτίστρα/αι, an irrigation canal, cf. for instance P.Mich.V 252,5 and 262,7.

καὶ Θεοδώρου κλήρων: apparently, the third plot of land belongs to a cleros which bears the names of two settlers: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ/ τῶν X] καὶ Θεοδώρου κλήρων. No conclusive explanation has been provided so far, regarding the initiation of cleros' double naming. Übel' s list suggests a cleruchic allotment within an extensive cleros (1968, p.101), while Zucker (1964, p.105) puts forward the possibility of successive holders of a cleros, as if πρότερον had been omitted before the second name. This cleros has not been identified with one already attested. In SB XVIII 14067,24 (middle III A.D., Oxy.) Theodoros is the patronymic of a cleruchic holder whose allotment is mentioned along with Ptolemaios'. A cleros of a Theodoros is known from P.Oxy.Hels.22,4 and 15 (II-III AD) in the village Cκώ of the upper toparchy, while the same cleruchic land may be attested in P.Oxy.XXXVI 2776,12-13 (119 A.D.) and P.Oxy.XVII 2137,17 (226 A.D.) under the name of Θεοδώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου, the



second being a proper name not met before in the Oxyrhynchites (see P.Oxy.2776, n.13). Κληρὸς is according to the editors supplied after Θεοδώρου in an oxyrhynchite ptolemaic account (P.Hib.118,3, 250 B.C., no.1253 in Übel, 1968) and in PSI IX 1070,14 (261? A.D., Mermertha of the Upper Toparchy): Θεοδώρου cὺν [ . Finally, the attestations of the military settler Θεόδωρος τῶν Φιλάγρου (P.Sorb.9,1 and 7, 268 B.C., no.1245 in Übel, 1968) and of one more clerōs in Stud.Pal.XX 47,7 (238 A.D.) could not be related to this one, since they are located in the Heracleopolites.

ἢ ὅς αἱ ἐὰν ὦσι: this formula, employed in several contracts, has commonly been explained as the way of taking into consideration the possible displacement of the boundaries of a piece of land, due to the effect of the Nile floods. This view has been pragmatically rejected by July (1966, pp.53ff.), who has offered a juridical interpretation: the formula is used in order to get avoided any unpleasant consequences regarding the validity of the document, in case the details of the described ‘object’ are not accurate. As parallels are offered the following well attested formulas: ‘ἢ οἱ ἄν ὦσιν γείτονες’ and ‘ἢ εἴ τιτι ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται’.

15-16 τῶν δὲ ὅλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ...: after αὐτὸ a high loop placed on the top of a letter suggests an α followed most likely by a ρ, whose half round top and bottom of the long descender are visible. The papyrus could read ἄρ[ουραι/ ὦν, while the expected participle ἀγομένων could have been omitted, cf. P.Wisc.I 9,14. One would not expect this phrase, since the number of arourai of this plot is given one line before, namely two, unless this total refers to the arourai of the whole land which is being sold.

κληρονόμων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ: an Aurelius Apollonius alias Claudianus, prytanis, ex-gymnasiarch and eirenarch is attested in P.Oxy.I 80,1-7 (no.372 in Sijpesteijn, 1986) dated to 238-244 A.D. The present land owner could well be identified with him, and in this case they would be different from the homonymous gymnasiarch in P.Oxy.XLIII 3125,2-3 (no.483 in Sijpesteijn, 1986) very likely dated to 273/4 or later, when our Apollonius had already died, (cf. P.Oxy.XLII 3135, Introduction). On the Latin name Κλαυδιανός, derivative of the common Κλαύδιος, see Meinersmann, 1927, p.78.

17, 18 ἰδιωτική: for the different senses of this term for private land category, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.42-3. In the present sale, since due to the gaps it is not easy to tell whether it is contrasted explicitly with any other land category, it is difficult to decide upon its specific meaning, if there is one.

17 Ἀμμωνίου οὐετρανοῦ: although some veterans of the Roman army bear the same name, nobody can be identified with this one in terms of local or chronological proximity (e.g. the one in CPR I 225,10) .

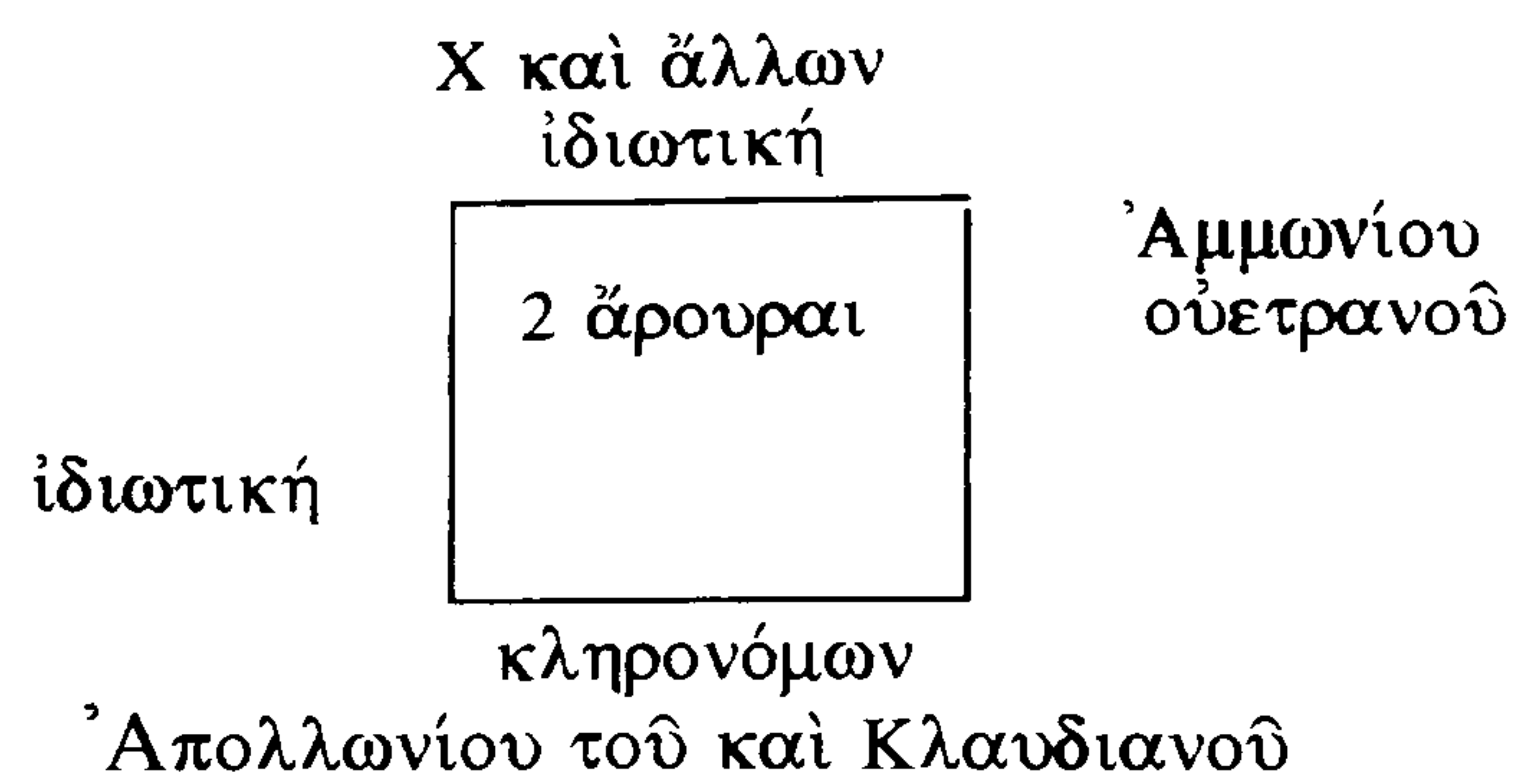
18 The reference to the neighbours on the west side from the northern part (ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ), which should have normally followed the one on the west side from the southern part (ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου) is skipped. The only reason I could think for that omission is that the scribe may have got confused, for both the expected formula and the following clause (ἐκ δὲ πάντων τῶν προκειμένων. . .) start with ἐκ δέ.

The following shape would attempt to show very roughly the parcels of land and their boundaries:

1. + 2. plots in the clerios of Horos:

δημοσία?		Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Διογένους	
?	ἄμπελικὸν κτῆμα καλαμεία τροχὸς ἐπικεχωσμένος φοίνικες ἐλαῖαι	?	? X γυμνασιάρχῃσαντος καὶ ἄλλων
	κτῆμα ciτικῶν ἀρουρῶν 8 5/8 ?		
? καὶ οἰκόπεδα κληρονόμων Σεύθου		κοιλώματα χρηστήρια	

3. plot in the clerios of X and Theodoros:



19 I think that in this line the seller may further guarantee that no part of the aforementioned sold property along with the neighbouring one remains under his ownership. For example after the gap the text may be reconstructed as follows: μηδὲν ἄλλο ]μέγνη (or a compound verb) ἐμαυτῷ μηδ' ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων γειτνιῶν.

20 τὸ μὴ ὑποστέλλον: the same formula occurs in PSI XII 1255,10-1 (III A.D., Oxy.): ἄλλο ὕ[.....]κέναι ἑαυτοῖς [ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου τὸ μὴ ὑποστέλλον τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν καταγραφῇ, P.Oxy.2723,13-4: καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ὕπ.....εναι ἑαυτῇ τὴν Αὐρηλίαν Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν καὶ Ἀρποκρατίαιναν ἐπὶ τῆς ....ειμε.....] ..ακομ[....][.....].[...κα]ταγραφῇ, cf. also P.Coll.Youtie I 65,73-5 = P.Oxy.XLVII 3365 (241 A.D.): καὶ ἄλλα τι ἀπλῶς καθ' ὅνδηποτοῦν τρόπον ὃ μὴ ἐμπίπτει τῇδε τῇ καταγραφῇ. Ὁ δ' ἂν φανῇ ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τούτων συνεκπεσεῖτε (l.-αι) τῇδε <τῇ> καταγραφῇ. Therefore, in l.20 I would supply for instance: τὸ μὴ ὑποστέλλον τῇ εἰς αὐτὴν καταγραφῇ. I think that the function of this formula would be to ensure the purchaser's ownership of all appurtenances of the land being sold, which for some reason may have not been mentioned in the conveyance. For the sense of 'conveyance' for καταγραφῇ, see LSJ sv. III, and *WB* sv. 2, and Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, pp.321-2; cf. also P.Coll.Youtie I 65,73-5, P.Oxy.XII 1562,20 (276-282 A.D.), P.Oxy.XIV 1636,42-3 and n., and 1704,25.

20-1 κατὰ τὸ μὲν πωλούμενόν σοι: cf. P.Oxy.3638,13: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πωλουμένου σοι.

21 This formula is well attested in the parallel sales, e.g. in P.Oxy.1475,24; 3498,18; 3638,12-3, thus: τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημέ]νας πρὸς ἀλλήλους .....δραχμάς (l.23).



22 In the gap it could be plausibly supplied: τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν καὶ καλαμείας and the number of arourae in letters καὶ τῶν συνῳνομαζμένων, but the exact wording of the text cannot be recovered.

22-3 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος: for this monetary term in the papyri, see 19 n.12-3.

23 Taking into account the parallels the line could be restored as follows: ματος δραχμᾶς [δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας αὐτόθι] ἀπέ[σ]χον παρὰ σοῦ δι[ι]ὰ τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρθώνιος του καὶ Ὠρίωνος. However, the restored words before τοῦ Ἀὐρηλίου cannot easily be identified with the remaining traces.

δι[ι]ὰ τοῦ Ἀὐρηλίου Ἀρθώνιος τοῦ καὶ Ὠρίωνος: Aurelius Harthonis alias Horion has not been attested before, while the name Harthonis is well attested in the Oxyrhynchite. This one is in chronological proximity with the Harthonis in P.Oxy.XIV 1725,20 (after 229 A.D.), XLIII 3109,10-2 (253-6 A.D.), PSI III 213,4 (III A.D.) and Ἀρθῶνιος ὁ καὶ ....ιρίων in P.Oxy.XLIII 3117 back, 33, whose double name excludes him from a possible identification with ours.

24 ἅσπερ προφέρετε .....: cf. P.Oxy.3638,16-7: ἅς καὶ προφέρη ἐντεῦθεν ἀποχαρίζεσθαι τῇ αὐτῇ θυγατρὶ σου κατὰ χάριν ἀναφαίρετον and note for the restoration of P.Oxy.2723,18, and P.Oxy.2723 n.18-19; furthermore, P.Oxy. 1208,16-17 (*BL* I, p.333): ἀποχαρισθέν σοι ὥς προφέρη κατὰ [χ]άριν ἀναφέρειτον (l. ἀναφαίρετον) καὶ ἀμ[ετανό]ητον and note. All these ‘gift’ formulas occur in sales of land, where minors are assisted in the transactions by adults, as apparently is the case in the present document. At this point, both the minor girl and Aurelius Harthonis (unless the last ε in προφέρετε is a phonetic mistake for αι) should declare explicitly that the money paid over for the land are an unreturnable gift to the girl, therefore she is becoming the undisputably full owner, see Pringsheim, 1950, pp.216-219. Just after προφέρετε the traces suggest either εἴπερ or εἶναι.

αὐτοῦ ἐ τέρας οὗτης ὠνούμενης: perhaps this phrase stresses further that the purchaser is the minor girl and not Aurelius Harthonis, if αὐτοῦ refers to him.

ἔχεις: I would have expected future (ἔξεις) or imperative (ἔχε).

25 νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ...υ: the papyrus probably reads ϣεαυτῇ η c followed by ἅπαντα χρόνον or only χρόνον.

26 προκόδους: in this context πρόκοδοι are revenues from property, as for instance in P.Oxy.III 494,13-14 (156 A.D.): ὧν πάντων τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ προκόδους πάσας μετὰ τὰ δημόσια ἔξει ἡ αὐτὴ γυνή μου, and not cash payments, imposed on land owing debts, cf. P.Ryl.II 213,45,84,142,180,450 (late II A.D.), and see Wallace, 1938, p.72, which particularly are imposed on ἀμπελῶνες in P.Oxy.VII 1046,3 and n. (218-9 A.D.), and XII 1473,3 and n., and 27 (201 A.D.), cf. O.Wilck.II 276 (186-7 A.D.): πρόκοδοι φοινίκων.

τὰ δημόσια: cf. the restored l.32. 'Public dues', that is taxes in kind from both public and private land, are often found in tax-documents. In this case, they could also include the τέλη καταλοχιμῶν charged on transfers of catocic land, see Wallace, 1938, pp.232-3.

In the traces of the letters before ἐκγόνοις I read καὶ which suggests that the common formula κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν σὺν ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σου μεταλημψομένοις with minor alterations in the various parallel documents is not followed, e.g. P.Oxy.3638,17-8; 1475,27; 1208,17; 3498,22; 2723,19-20; 2972,33-4. At this particular point our document agrees with P.Wisc.I 9,22-4: τὰς δὲ πάσας ἀρούρας.....παρέξομαί σοι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σου μεταλημψομένοις βεβαίως διὰ παντὸς and P.Oxy.1636,19-21: καὶ ἐπάναγκες παρέξομαί σοι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημψομένοις τὸ τῆς ἀρούρης τρίτον βέβαιον, but apparently the rest of the clause in these two Oxyrhynchite cessions corresponds to l.28 of our document. Plausibly, σοι can be supplied before καί.



26-7 ἡλικίας γενομένην, cf. P.Oxy.2723,21: καὶ ἡλικίας γενόμενον and P.Oxy.3638, 21-2: καὶ τελείαν γενομένην. It seems that this is a case of land purchase on behalf of a minor girl. It is not actually clarified whether this sale involves property bought on behalf of an unmarried girl by her parents, see Rowlandson, 1981, pp.373, 376-7 and n.16, and eadem, 1996, pp.194, n.60 and 197. On the other hand, the person who acts for the minor, Αὐρήλιος Ἀρθῶνις ὁ καὶ Ὡρίων (ll.23, 36) is never addressed as her father, cf. e.g. P.Oxy.3638, 2723 and III 633 (c. 92 or 108 A.D., publ. by Nielsen, 1992, pp.143-52). He may probably be a relative who assists the young girl in the property transaction.

27 μετὰ τὴν π[ : the last letter before the gap should be a π whose right upright is almost completely covered by an ink blob. I would restore perhaps μετὰ τὴν π[ρᾶσιν /καὶ παραχώρησιν, but no parallel has been found to it.

καὶ οἰκονομεῖν. . . ἀνεμποδίτως: before οἰκονομεῖν part of a curve followed by a long vertical, fits the reading of αἰ. On the grounds of parallel documents part of the lacuna in l.27 could be restored as ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν χρᾶσθαι (P.Oxy.1475,28; 1208,19; 3498,25; 3638, 21; P.Gen.II116,42-43) or simply χρᾶσθαι (P.Oxy.2972, 35; 2723,21).

28 According to the parallels the phrase lost in the gap could be: κοὶ βέβαιον διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ πάντων πά[ς]η [βε]βαιώσεται, cf. P.Oxy.1208,20; 3498,27; 2723,22; 3638, 23 with a slightly altered word sequence.

28-9 καθαρὸν ἀπὸ τε γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς: the purchaser is reassured that the land he is buying is free from the obligation to cultivate public land, which was assigned to the owners of private land at a high rate of rent/ tax, varying normally in the Oxyrhynchite between 3½ and 4½ art./ar (for a complete account of tax rates recorded for public land, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.71ff.). It is not certain whether this obligation was permanent or not, but apparently it was attached to the land and transferred with it by lease, sale or inheritance. The guarantee in this document that the land is free from γεωργία βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς, a term almost equivalent to the ἐπιβολή in the Arsinoite, confirms once more that this was an unwelcome



burden, cf. Rostowzew, 1910, pp.200 and 395; Wallace, 1938, pp.20-1; Johnson, 1936, pp.78, 80 and 510, and especially for the Oxyrhynchite, Rowlandson, 1996, pp.88-93.

βασιλικῆς. . . γῆς: it was one of the main, probably the largest, among the categories of public land within the Roman system of land tenure, being actually the crown-land of the Ptolemies, which often retained its name in Graeco-Roman Egypt. For a detailed description of this land category, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.27-40.

οὐσιακῆς γῆς: this is land belonging to the patrimonium of the emperor, which by the time of this document 'was constituted as a new category of public land and was farmed in a manner closely equivalent to the γῆ βασιλικῇ' (Rowlandson, 1996, p.57), including the assignment of its cultivation to owners of private property. For a sufficient presentation of the development of the imperial land in Egypt and its administration, see Rowlandson, 1996, pp.55-61, and Parassoglou, 1978, *passim*.

29 Due to lack of space elements of the restoration of the lacuna in the present document should be either its freedom of debt and lien or exception from maintenance work and water guarding on the dikes, both of which are well attested in the parallels. I would supplement the line as follows: γῆς [καὶ παντ]ῶς εἵδου[ς καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας χω]μᾶτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε.

παντ]ῶς εἵδου[ς: εἶδη were certain land-taxes bearing this name, because perhaps under the Ptolemies they were paid in kind; although the classification was preserved by the Romans, all these taxes had been practically converted into payments of money, see Johnson, 1936, p.559, and Wallace, 1938, pp.326, 332, 378 n.42.

ἀπὸ ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας χω]μᾶτῶν: the owner of landed property is exempted from work and guard duties regarding the state-dikes, because he was to look after his ἰδιωτικὰ χῶματα (cf. Sijpesteijn, 1964, p.11, n.2). For the liturgy of ὑδροφυλακία, see Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.48.

30-1 For the reconstruction of the lines cf.: P.Oxy.3498,30ff.; 3638,26ff.; 1636,27ff; 1208,21ff.; P.Wisc.I 9,27ff and P.Gen.II 116,45ff. Taking into account the space available, I would reconstruct these lines as: |<sup>30</sup> λ [ουμένων δη]μο ς ἰ ῶ [ν καὶ ἐπικλασμῶν καὶ ἐπιμερισμῶν παντοίων τῶν ἕως/μέχρι τοῦ |διελθόντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διελθόντος δ (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνε|<sup>31</sup> [τῶτος ε (ετους) πρόσφορα εἶναι σοῦ τῆς παραχωρουμένης εἰς τὸν ἅπαντ]α χρόνον πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε (ἔτους).

For ἐπικλασμοί, that is extraordinary levies on land, including catoecic, both in money and in kind, see Wallace, 1938, pp.20-1 and 26-27, where he states that this term may have been used loosely to indicate taxes which had other names.

For the ἐπιμερισμός of domain land upon the holders of private land, see again Wallace, 1938, pp.21-22 and 27, and Poethke, 1969, *passim*, especially pp.19-29. This term was also applied to both taxes in money and in kind.

32 At the beginning of the line δημόσια καὶ ἐπικλασμοὶ παντοῖοι/ πάντες or just δημόσια (παντοῖα) are plausible restorations according to the parallels, cf. P.Oxy.3498,33; 1208,23; 1636,32; 3638,28 and 1475,32: ἀπὸ καλανδῶν τελέσματα, but there is still room for more than thirty letters. The particular scribe could have been so verbose to have written τῆς παραχωρουμένης καὶ (ἐ)ωνημένης, this is, however, a mere conjecture.

33-37 On the grounds of parallel documents and of the estimation of line length these lines could be restored as follows: |<sup>33</sup> [ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐφόδου καταλιπομένης, πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' ὄνδηποτοῦν τρόπον ἐ]πελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποιησόμενον τούτου χάριν ἢ μέρος |<sup>34</sup> [ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήσω παραχρήμα ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δί]κης. κυρία ἢ παραχώρησις διςσὴ γραφεῖσα ἦν περ ὀπηνίκα |<sup>35</sup> [ἐὰν αἴρῃ ἀνοίσεις /δημοσιώσεις διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου οὐ προδεομένη ἐ]τέρας μου εὐδοκήσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκεῖν με |<sup>36</sup> [τῇ ἐσομένη ὑπὸ σοῦ δημοσιώσει, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς/ δικαίως γενέσθαι/ πεπραῆχθαι ἐπερωτηθ]εῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρθώνιος τοῦ καὶ |<sup>37</sup> [᾽Ωρίωνος ὁμολόγησα.



34 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: this common expression in documents concerning private affairs is normally translated ‘as if by a legal decision’, see Wolff, 1970, p.527 n.3, where complete bibliography is cited. However, this scholar in the same paper has further investigated the *praxis*-Klausel and suggested the meaning ‘according to customary and accepted legal procedure’; his theory has been accepted and further improved by Meyer-Laurin, 1975, pp.189-204. In 1976 Kränzlein has challenged anew Wolff’s suggestion; he also denied the function of this formula as ‘Exekutivklausel’, but he put forward the hypothesis that the presence of the formula in a document would have facilitated the procedure.

κυρία: for the appearance, meaning and significance of the kyria-formula in the documents, see Hässler, 1960, *passim*, and particularly pp.11-39; also, Pringsheim, 1950, pp.136-9, and Kiessling, 1983, p.90, who all agree that the meaning of the word κυρία in this clause is ‘authoritative’, ‘decisive’, ‘irrefutable’ (‘maßgeblich’) and not ‘valid’ (‘gültig’), since ἡ πράξις is efficient for the acquisition of ownership (κτησιν), therefore the payment of the price is not necessary for an authoritative agreement, but is paid because the agreement preceded it (Pringsheim, 1950, pp.136-139).

37 At the beginning of the line we could safely restore Ὠρίωνος: cf. l.23.

37-39 For the restoration of the ensuing lines bearing the regnal year and the imperial titulature, cf. P.Oxy.XLIII 3111,15-7; XLIV 3182,11-6; Bureth, 1964, pp.118-119 no.4, and Peachin, 1990, p.358, no.431: (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκρατόρων Καيسάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ<sup>38</sup> [Γαλλιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ Ἐπιφανεστάτου]<sup>39</sup> [Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν (month, day)]. Since Valerian the younger, whose death is placed in the summer of 258 A.D. (see Peachin, 1990, pp.38-9, and Kienast, 1996, p.221), is mentioned still alive, and consequently his younger brother, Saloninus has not been made Caesar yet (the first certain dating for this is in Mesore of the fifth year in P.Oxy.XXXI 2560,23), this document should have been drawn up in the fifth year prior to the month Mesore.



40-44 These lines contain the signature of the vendor. According to the easily restored l.42: [νων πάντων καὶ ἀπέσχον τὰ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ (ἀργυρίου) δραχμὰς διςχιλίας πεντα, there should be about 66-74 letters in each line. Line 40 apparently includes the name of the vendor, preceded by the status designation Αὐρήλιος. As for the sequence there are many possibilities: a double name, a patronymic, a title, the phrase καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω. The first traces of l.40 are puzzling. They are compatible with an ε with an extended middle stroke, but no plausible restoration of the word ending in it has been thought of. In the following line an indispensable element should be the amount of land sold, for instance as τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν + number of arourae, while additionally the cession of half reed-bed could have been mentioned. In some sales the name (and status, e.g. ἀφῆλιξ, along with the name of the person acting for the minor) of the purchaser is written after the verb (cf. P.Oxy.1475,37-8; P.Oxy.3638,34ff.), but I am not sure that there would be enough space for it to be included. Finally, taking into account the parallels and the estimated line-length l.43 could be reconstructed as follows: κοκίας καὶ βεβαιώσω (πάντα) ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπε]ρ ωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα, (cf. P.Oxy.3638,41) or: κοκίας καὶ βεβαιώσω καὶ εὐδοκῶ τῇ δημοσιώσει, ὡς καὶ ἐπε]ρ ωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα (cf. P.Oxy.1208,27).

42-3 δραχμὰς διςχιλίας πεντα | [κοκίας: as the amount of land sold has not survived, and even if it had, as there are few instances of prices on vineyards, it is difficult to say whether the price mentioned here is reasonable or not. However, taking into account the prices of land listed by Drexhage, 1991, pp.127-140, and Rowlandson 1996, pp.320-1, my feeling is that the price paid for that land is probably not excessive at all.

## LETTER OF SARAPAMMON TO ACHILLEUS AND SEVERUS

16 2B.45/ E (c)

11.9 x 13.6 cm.

II A.D.

Plate XVII.

This private letter is written along the fibres of a papyrus sheet, which breaks off after line 13. In the surviving part after l.13, the horizontal fibres which bear the writing, have almost completely vanished. The papyrus is also worn at the folds (see below), while two similarly shaped holes, due to the rolling up of the letter, at the right-hand bottom of the piece mutilate the text. The top margin measures 1.3 cm, the left-hand 1.5 cm., while at the right-hand side the writing is extended almost till the end of the sheet, leaving an irregular margin, which at its widest measures 0.8 cm. The ‘divided’ letters λ (ὅλων) in l.3, ι in ll.5 (πατρώ[ι]ο[ι]c) and 6 (εἴπαμεν), ρ in l.7 (ἐπιτρατήγου), ο in l.10 ὑπόμνημα, and the spaces left between letters in the words προκύνημα (l.4) and ζωγράφου (l.8), occur due to a fold existing before the writing of the letter on the surface of the sheet.

The letter is written in a skilled, bold, medium to large (letter-height averages 0.3 cm), slightly sloping semi-cursive hand. For the writing of this letter was used black ink and soft pen which explains the thickness of several letters. Due to the loss of the closing formula, it cannot be decided whether Sarapammon availed himself of the service of a professional scribe, which is likely taking into account the competent execution of the writing. The script is bilinear apart from the verticals of ρ, φ, ι and τ, which protrude below the notional parallel lines, and φ, certain κ, υ and ε which extend above them. Special care has been given to the writing of the greeting formula (ll.1-2): it is written in a slightly larger hand than the rest with the exception of the initial letters of each line and those of the names, the letters are grouped in words, the interlinear space is also larger (c. 0.8 cm), and the second line sets off by eisthesis of four letters.

A damaged address, written by the same hand, but with more elegance and in slightly bigger size in one line, runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position about 1.6 cm. from the edge which is the left hand one as viewed from the front, reveals that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, that is, it was rolled up with



the right edge inside. A central vertical crease in the front of the piece and five more vertical ones show that the letter was squashed flat. The address was one of the last to be done before giving the letter for delivery, that is after the tucking in of the exposed left edge, the binding, and probably the sealing of the letter. The address is normally written in two sections divided by the binding, which owing to the breaking of the piece is no longer visible.

The scribe of the letter gives prominence to the curved lines, and furnishes with serifs and roundels the majority of straight and oblique strokes. Sometimes he prolongs till the next line the long strokes of  $\varphi$  and  $\rho$  (e.g. ll.5,9,13). In l.8 the flamboyant long vertical of the second  $\varphi$  of  $\Phi\alpha\omega\varphi$  curls up again inside the line and reaches the first  $\varphi$  of the word, but apparently was half erased by the scribe himself. The upper part of  $\varsigma$  and the oblique of  $\alpha$  are frequently extended rightwards, sometimes serving as punctuation, e.g. l.5 after  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Joined letters do not form striking ligatures, apart from  $\alpha\iota$  (e.g. ll.1,11),  $\epsilon\iota$  (e.g. ll.2,11) and  $\alpha\omega$  (in  $\Phi\alpha\omega\varphi$ , l.8). Letters to note are: the large non-cursive  $\beta$  which rests on a horizontal (ll.11,13), the v-shaped  $\upsilon$ , often with a loop at its basis (l.8), the oval-shaped  $\theta$ , drawn in three movements (l.5), the  $\mu$  with a low belly, written without lifting the pen in three movements, sometimes with a loop on the top of its right-hand vertical (ll.6,12), the large  $\epsilon$  with its upper part so curved that it reaches its middle stroke (l.7), and  $\kappa$  with a high left-hand side vertical (l.1). Possibly for decorative purposes the scribe in a couple of cases repeats strokes of the same letter, e.g. ll.11,12. Finally, trema is employed on the top of  $\upsilon$  having the form of two dots (l.10).

The hand may be compared with those of *PGB* 26b, dated to 185 A.D., *P.Flor.I* 67 (161/9) and *PSI XII* 1227 (188), plates of which can be seen in *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*, tav.CXVI and CXVII respectively.

Sarapammon writes from his hometown or village to Achilleus, lawyer, and Severus, who reside at the place, where at least at that time, the epistrategus, plausibly of the Heptanomia, holds his court. This is a request letter. Sarapammon's purpose, who should act on behalf of other people as well with common interests, seems to be to ask the recipients of the letter to prepare for him a copy of the record of proceedings of their hearing before the epistrategus. As it frequently occurs in private letters, the content of the petition, which should have been sent to the epistrategus before he agreed to give the petitioners a hearing, is specified only in a vague way as 'the case regarding the house of the painter', while the letter is also allusive concerning the steps in the case and the



process of copying the record of the proceedings. Thus, the primary or sole reason for writing this letter is a request, which is stated in the body of the letter, and should be satisfied as soon as possible, as the sender of the letter strongly emphasises through the diction of his letter. However, the maintenance of contact has not been neglected, but is conveyed particularly in the opening of the letter by means of certain epistolary formulas, namely the greeting-, health- and proskynema formula.

Καραπάμμων Ἀχιλλῷ καὶ Σευήρῳ  
τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις χαίρειν.  
πρὸ τῶν ὅλων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν  
καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ παρὰ  
5 τοῖς πατρώ[ιο]ις θεοῖς. παρακαλῶ, κύριοί  
μου, ἐπειδὴ εἶπαμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑαυτῶν  
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου χάριν τῆς οἰκίας  
τοῦ ζωγράφου ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ τοῦ Φαῶφι  
τοῦ ὄντος κ (ἔτους) καὶ οὐ κατέφθημεν  
10 λαβεῖν τὸ ὑπόμνημα, δέομαι ὑμῶν  
ἀναγκαίως ἐγλαβεῖν μοι αὐτό[υ]. [ἔ]ς  
τιν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα . ωις Ζώϊλου  
καὶ Θαῆς Ζηναρίου καὶ Τιβέριος Κλαύ  
[διος -10-] .[-3-].[.] .....[.  
. . . . .

Back→ Ἀχιλλῷ ῥήτορι καὶ Σευήρῳ [

1 l. Ἀχιλλεῖ 2 l. τιμιωτάτοις 9 — 10 ὑπόμνημα; ὑμῶν  
11 l. ἐκλαβεῖν; λ corr. from α (?) 11-2 l. ἔστι

‘Sarapammon to Achilleus and Severus the most honoured, greetings. Before all I pray for your health, and I make obeissance for you in the presence of the ancestral gods. I beg you, my lords, since we reported our case before the epistrategus regarding the

house of the painter on the fourteenth of Phaophi of the current twentieth year, and we did not receive before the extract from the records, I beg you without fail to prepare it for me. And the names are: .ois of Zoilos and Thaesis of Zenarion and Tiberius Claudius. . . . .’

Back: ‘To Achilleus, lawyer, and Severus. . . . .’

1 *Καραπάμμων* and *Ἀχιλλεύς* are not identified with anyone bearing the same name, common particularly in the Oxyrhynchite.

*Ἀχιλλῆ*: for the frequent use of *ι* instead of *ει*, see Gignac I, pp.189-90.

*Κεουήρωι*: *Κεουήρος* could also be a lawyer, like his co-recipient of the letter, Achilleus (cf. the address). An advocate Severus is active in 137 A.D. in the upper division of the Sebennyte nome, in the central Delta, (preserved in P.Oxy.II 237,vii,33 and 36, a petition dated to 186 A.D.), and there are occurrences of two advocates working in collaboration on behalf of one or more clients who have common interests (if this is the case here), cf. for instance P.Oxy.II 237,vii,33; SB XIV 12139,iv,17 and v,7-8 (II-III); IV 7404,ii,26 (reign of Hadrian), P.Fam.Tebt.24,6-7,35-6,62-3 (II). The objection could be that, if Severus had also been a lawyer, Sarapammon would not have repeated twice their profession in his address, but he would preferably have written *Ἀχιλλῆ καὶ Κεουήρωι ῥήτορσιν*. The Latin consonantal *u* in Severus is transcribed by Greek *ου*, as it is often attested in the documents of the Roman period, although ‘it is transcribed by *β* with increasing frequency from the first century A.D. on’, see Gignac I, p.68. The *ι* of the long diphthong *ωι* is normally retained in names in introductory formulas, although it has ceased being pronounced, see Gignac I, p.183, n.3.

2 *τοῖς τειμιωτάτοις*: for the function of this frequently used honorary title in the address of a letter, see Koskenniemi, 1956, pp.100-103. For the very common interchange of *ι* > *ει* in papyri, see Gignac I, p.190 Ib.

3 *πρὸ τῶν ὅλων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν*: for the complimentary character and the meaning of each part of this *formula valetudinis*, see Koskenniemi, 1956, pp.134-5.



ce: because of the highly formulaic character of the expression, Sarapammon probably forgot that he is addressing two people.

4-5 καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ: for the proskynema-formula which was most of the times attached to the health-formula as here, see Geraci, 1971, *passim*. Most of the times, including this one, one cannot tell whether this is simply an epistolary formula or it refers to a real execution of a προσκύνημα, as there are some attestations of the latter, see Geraci, 1971, pp.163-171.

παρὰ τοῖς πατρώ[ιο]ις θεοῖς: this private letter also confirms the fact that, when the προσκύνημα is made to the ancestral gods, the sender writes from home to somebody who is away from the particular locality (see Geraci, 1971, p.193). Due to the damage of the papyrus at this point, it cannot be decided whether the scribe marked the ι of the diphthong ωι in the word πατρώιοις. Although its omission in medial position is frequent (see Gignac I, p.184), the space could suggest that it was written.

5 παρακαλῶ: is followed for emphasis by the synonym verb δέομαι (l.10) which actually functions as the verb of the main clause in this period, while παρακαλῶ is almost reduced to a *mot grammatical* (Steen, 1938, p.133, c.3). For more examples of the *accumulation d'expressions d'urbanité*, that is expressions in private letters which soften the tone of an order, see Steen, 1938, pp.138 and 150.

κύριοί μου: the vocative occurs frequently at points in the body of a private letter during the Roman period, where major transitions occur, as for instance this one from the opening of the letter to the opening of the body of the letter. In this case, the vocative further emphasises the transitional significance of this part, see White, 1972b, pp.29ff.

6 ἐπειδή: this is one more instance of ἐπειδή + Indicative Aorist starting a clause of mixed temporal and causal meaning.

εἵπαμεν: it is made clear that the letter refers to a hearing (διάγνωσις) held before the epistrategus (Thomas, 1982, pp.129ff). This was a possible response of the epistrategus



to petitions requesting a hearing which was granted, or to other petitions for which a hearing had been considered the first step to be taken. All these cases could have reached the epistrategus by direct petition, by delegation from a higher authority (e.g. the prefect), or by referral from an inferior (e.g. the strategus), see Thomas, 1982, pp.113ff. This private letter does not actually reveal, whether both parties, that is Sarapammon's and his opponents, were present in court at the time of the hearing. The first person plural of the verb is used, cf. also ἑαυτῶν (l.6), κατέφθημεν (l.9), presumably because Sarapammon is also acting on behalf of other people who are involved in this case, who could be the ones mentioned in lines 12ff.; we should also bear in mind that if the restorations suggested below have any chance of being correct, two of these names belong to ladies (ll.12 and 13), who would possibly act through a 'representative'.

ἑαυτῶν is used instead of the personal pronoun of the first person in the plural (ἡμῶν). Gignac, I, p.170, has noticed a syntactical confusion of the reflexive and personal pronouns, in particular indicated by forms of ἑαυτ- written instead of the personal pronoun of the third person.

7 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου: ἐπί + τινος (= *coram*) suggests the presence of the epistrategus himself at the hearing of the case, cf. Mayser, III par.125 III,1 (p.466). The letter does not provide any evidence for the location of the base or temporary residence of the epistrategus (see Thomas, 1982, pp.57-64), apart from the fact that it was far from the residence of Sarapammon.

τῆς οἰκίας: this should be a case involving disputed property, and such cases were often referred to the authority of the epistrategus. For more instances of property disputes addressed to the epistrategus, see the relevant documents within the list of petitions to the epistrategus (Table A) in Thomas, 1982, pp.143-149, and Table B (trials and other documents), pp.150-156.

8 τοῦ ζωγράφου: the owner (?) of the house (l.7) is not denoted by name, but by his profession only. This could be due either to the laconic character of private letters which do not usually impart information in detail, since the issues hinted at are already known to the recipient of the letter, or the painter, and probably any painter, was a distinguished

member of a society in Graeco-Roman Egypt. For references to painters and painting in the papyri, see Nowicka, 1979, *passim*. Furthermore, the phrase ‘τοῦ ζωγράφου’ could be indicative not of the current ownership of the house, but of the name by which the house is known within the community, probably because of a past owner who was a painter.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ̄ τοῦ Φαῶφι (11<sup>th</sup> October): to the best of my knowledge, ἐπί + Genitive to express date, without being the unique occurrence in this document, cf. for instance P.Oxy. I 89,5-6 (140-1 A.D.); II 237,36 (186 A.D.); XLVI 3292,13-4 (259-264 A.D.), is not employed frequently in the papyri, before at least the initiation of the chronological system of the indictiones. It should be noted that in the considered cases the date refers always to the past of the document.

9 τοῦ ὄντος κ (ἔτους): the piece could be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the second century and according to the parallel documents to the second half of it. Therefore, the 20<sup>th</sup> year could perhaps be 157 A.D. under the reign of Antoninus Pius, or 180 A.D., under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

9-10 οὐ κατέφθημεν λαβεῖν: after κατέφθημεν there is hardly space to fit in a preposition and build a compound of λαβεῖν. However, in the context of this letter the compound ἐγλαβεῖν would have made better sense.

10 τὸ ὑπόμνημα: the word ὑπόμνημα has several technical meanings, see *WB* s.v. Here, since it appears to be a document resulting from the hearing before the epistrategus, it could mean ‘record (copy of) of court proceedings’ (*WB* s.v. 2d), that is extract of the type of documents known as ‘ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ’ or ‘ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν’, of which several have survived. For this type of documents in general, see Coles, 1966, *passim*. Presumably, the requested document would include the epistrategus’ κρίσις, his official decision (see Coles, 1966, pp.49-52, and *WB* s.v. ὑπόμνημα 2c), which could be further used for the benefit of the party favoured by it. An hypomnema is mentioned in relation to an epistrategus in the *descriptum* P.Oxy.X 1302 (208 A.D.) and P.Oxy.XII 1415,9 (late III A.D.). Evidence has also survived regarding the copying of the proceedings before officials, e.g. in P.Oxy.X 1264,7ff. (272



A.D.); LV 3820,10,16-7 (c.340 A.D.?) and LIX 4003,33ff., where in a letter of IV-V A.D. the recipient is informed that the records of proceedings held before the Augustalis, are sent to him, as he has requested, because he will need them in Pelusium.

δέομαι: the reading of this word is not certain, since only parts of the first two letters survive, namely part of a descending oblique and of an horizontal at two thirds high, compatible with δ and ε respectively. The following long upright, joined with the middle stroke of what I think is an ε, could very likely be the extension of the tail of the φ of the line above. Δέομαι, a common verb in petitions, is also often employed in private letters to add politeness to a request or order, cf. n.5, and Steen, 1938, p.131.

11 ἀναγκαίως: this adverb is employed in the post-ptolemaic papyri as an *expression d'intensité*, which suggests immediate execution of a request/order, see Steen, 1938, pp.153-154.

ἐγλαβεῖν: according to *WB*, s.v. ἐκλαμβάνω 4, ἐγλαβεῖν means 'Auszug oder Abschrift fertigen', thus, in this instance the two recipients of the letter, of which one is certainly a lawyer, are requested to prepare a copy of the hypomnema (n.10). Cf. P.Oxy.XLIII 3138,3 (III A.D.), where the orthographus Anicetus is paid 'ὑ(πὲρ) ἐκγλήψεως (l.ἐκλήψεως) ὑπομνήματος' 'for making an extract from the public records of an hypomnema'. Is this an indication that the advocate(s) mentioned in this letter were working actually for the epistrategus? Thomas, 1982, p.175, has collected all the evidence regarding the epistrategus' bureau, of which not much is known. Among the staff of his office is attested a ῥήτωρ in the fragmentary context of SB I 5676,15: 'πολλὰ δύναται, ῥήτωρ ἐστὶν τοῦ ἐπιτρατήγου, λέγειν δ' [ἐγὼ] οὐ δύναμαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ'. However, it is not made clear in the context of a private letter whether the ῥήτωρ, being an employee of the epistrategus, had among his duties the copying of the hypomnemata, or whether he was asked to do it due to personal acquaintance with the letter's sender; or even that without being employed by the epistrategus, he could fulfil the requested task for his clients and/or friends who cannot be present at the place, where the epistrategus holds his trials. Some light could be shed on the problem from P.Yale I 61 (with *BL* VI, p.204, VII, p.282, VIII p.514 and X, p.287, dated to 208-10 A.D.), which seems to support the last view. P.Yale I 61 preserves a letter of a strategus



of the Themistou and Polemon divisions in the Arsinoite, who is announcing a decision taken by Subatianus Aquila, prefect of Egypt, who tried by means of this edict to alter the procedure of publication of the official decisions to petitions and to make them more easily available to the people outside Alexandria: ἵνα οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰ διαφέροντα ἑαυτοῖς ἐκλαβῖν (l.-εἶν) δύνα[[ο]]ῦνται (ll.11-12), and ὅπως εἰ τυγχάνη τις ἐπιδοῦς βιβλίδια ἄνελθὼν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν ἐκλεμψιν ποιήσ[[ον]]ῇται (ll.14-16). Since, before the enforcement of this edict, the answers to petitions handed in at least at Arsinoe, were published after some time only in Alexandria, the petitioners probably had to return home and hire or ask somebody, e.g. a lawyer, to copy the answer, when it was posted in Alexandria (see P.Yale I 61 Introduction, pp.187-8). Our letter could refer to a parallel procedure, although it does not seem to deal with a petition and its answer, unless ‘εἵπαμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα’ means ‘we handed in our petition’. For the fluctuation between the prepositions ἐκ and ἐγ in composition before λ, see Gignac I, p.175.

μοι: the dative of advantage (dative éthique) is frequently used in private letters, especially after an imperative, to encourage further the recipient in the rapid and successful fulfilment of the task on request, cf. Steen, 1938, pp.125-126. The first person singular of the personal pronoun is used in accord with δέομαι (l.10), thus the request is presented as a personal favour owed to Achilleus and Severus by Sarapammon.

αὐτό[[υ]] (sc. τὸ ὑπόμνημα): υ is deleted by means of two short obliques drawn on the top of the letter by the same hand.

12 τὰ ὀνόματα: this allusive reference to some names would not possibly have been clarified, even if the papyrus had not broken off. The names could be entered in the letter, so that Achilles and Severus would copy the proper extract from the day-book of the epistrategus. We are not aware of the number of the names further listed, but they should all very likely belong to people involved in this dispute; they could be the names of Sarapammon's party alone, or those of their opponents, both, and even the name of the painter (cf. n.8) may have been included. Finally, one more less likely option, may be considered: these three names (along with four more?, see P.Oxy.LXV, p.160) might be witnesses who will sign, and thus seal the copy prepared. This practice is attested, e.g. in

P.Oxy.XVII 2131 (207 A.D.), BGU II 525 + III 970 (117 A.D.), that is copies of petitions presented to the prefect and of his official subscription thereon, which had been publicly displayed at Antinoopolis and Juliopolis (a suburb of Alexandria) respectively. Furthermore, P.Oxy.LXV 4481 (179 A.D.), of which see the Introduction, where all the relevant examples and bibliography is cited.

.ωιϛ: only a trace of the left-hand low part of the first letter survives, which could belong to a ζ, a large letter which would fill the gap and start the female name Ζωίϛ. The choice is limited to a few more names suggested by Dornseiff and Hansen (p.216), of which only Ψωιϛ and the rare Τωιϛ are attested in the papyri, but do not seem to suit the ink trace.

13 Θαῆϛιϛ: at this point the papyrus breaks off, therefore only half of each letter is visible, but I think that the female name Θαῆϛιϛ, which is very common in the Oxyrhynchite, makes a good reading. Since only the mother's name is entered, this person should be considered an ἀπάτωρ (see HC.Youtie, 1975a, *passim*).

Ζηνάριου: Ζηνάριον is a rare lady's name, being in fact as many other female names in the papyri, the neutral of the related male Ζηνάριων, attested so far only in four documents coming from Oxyrhynchus: P.Oxy.II 243,8,10 (79 A.D.), P.Oxy.II 286,2-3,16 (82 A.D.), P.Oxy.XLI 2957,3 (91 A.D.) and P.Oslo II, 52,1 (II A.D.), and P.Lugd.Bat. XXX 3,39,103 (late I- early II) of unknown provenance.

14 The first visible trace from the top of a letter, could belong to several letters, e.g. α, ι, κ, ν. After the gap following the second trace, the second high horizontal is long enough to belong either to τ or ζ.

Back: ῥήτορι: commonly the profession of the recipient is included in the address as here, to facilitate his being found by the bearer of the letter (Llewelyn, 1994, p.41). On ῥήτορες, who appear in the Roman period as a synonym of συνήγοροι, see Taubenschlag, <sup>2</sup>1955, pp.507-8, and *idem*, 1951, pp.188-192.



LETTER OF AMMONIUS, HERAIS AND EUPORUS TO PRISKUS,  
THAESIS AND HERMINUS

28 4B.61/E (3-4) a

14.1 x 30.2 cm

late III A.D.

Plates XVIII.- XIX.

This private letter is written across the fibres on the back of an account of several expenses, written in an elegant hand, strongly influenced by the chancery style (see Cavallo, 1965, pp. 216-249). The content of this account could be related to Ammonius' capacity as diastoleus (l. 41). The document should have been ephemeral, since on palaeographical grounds it cannot be assigned long before the letter. There is no sheet-join to prove that the letter is written on the verso, but the usual practice suggests that the account is written on the recto of the original roll and that a piece was cut from the account, so that the letter could be written on the blank back. Some ink spots in the text of the letter should mostly indicate that it was rolled when wet, rather than that it is a palimpsest. The letter is mutilated by a big hole (c. 4.5 cm. at its widest) extending from l. 28 to the bottom, while it is marred by several smaller ones along the folds, of which at least six vertical and one horizontal in the centre of the piece are visible. The top margin measures c. 1.8 cm., the left-hand about 2 cm. and the bottom c. 1.2 cm. At the right-hand side the writing is extended almost till the end of the sheet.

The hand is a neat, fluent cursive, medium to large (letter-height averages 0.5 cm.), sloping slightly to the right. There is no change of hand for the farewell formula, but it is impossible to estimate whether it was Ammonius who commands this elegant cursive or a professional scribe. It was executed by means of black ink and soft pen which explains the thickness of some letters. Bilinearity is violated by the long letters ι, ξ, ρ, φ, ψ, the large β, ε and κ, and occasionally by certain λ and υ. The writing gets gradually smaller as it moves towards the end of the line. The initial letter of each line and of the period after strong punctuation is enlarged. The second and the third line of the greeting formula start off by eisthesis of one letter, while in the compressed farewell formula the writing gets small and very cursive.



This hand displays a preference for curved lines, their edges being furnished with serifs and dots. Loops often form part of α, ε, υ, μ and κ. Joined letters do not form conspicuous ligatures, apart from δε (l.18) and the common ci (e.g. ll.14,15) and ει (e.g. ll.7,20,30). Several letters appear with two forms, the first influenced by the chancery style, the second being the typical cursive of the third century, for instance ε, α, υ, κ. Notable letters, which seem to be written according to the chancery style are: the initial large α, the non cursive β which rests on a long horizontal, the large κ with its lower right-hand part curving upwards, the oval θ, whose middle stroke extends in both sides, and the oval o whose two curves sometimes cross at the bottom. Strong punctuation is denoted by means of space of about two letters (ll.10,24,27,29,31), while strong and less strong punctuation is also marked by the extended upper parts of c and ε (ll.11,14,16,18,37). Trema having the form of two dots is employed on the top of initial υ and of the ι in προσιόντα (l.7), in the latter case to separate vowels which do not belong together. Elision is marked with apostrophe once in l.4, while it is effected tacitly in all other cases (ll.6,29,37), as well as the crasis (in ll.12,16). The Greek is in general satisfying for the period it was written. Some common iotacisms and a few spelling mistakes occur, as well as awkward syntax by the standards of classical Greek (see below, ll.6ff.,20-1). Finally, the scribe has corrected himself in a couple of cases (ll.4,33).

The address written in two lines by the same hand, runs downwards across the fibres of the back. Its position about 3 cm. from the edge which is the right-hand one as viewed from the front, and the central horizontal crease, running through l.19, adjacent to the end of the address, show how the letter was packaged. The bottom half was folded up over the top, so as to conceal the letter. Then, the doubled sheet was rolled up with the left-hand edge of the letter inside, squashed flat and the right-hand edge was tucked inside to protect it. When the string round the middle of the package was in place, a simple design of four horizontal (?) strokes was inked across it. The address was written on one of the two exposed panels, noticeably dirtier than the rest of the back, -without first erasing on it some letters of the account- in two halves, separated by the binding.

The date of the letter assessed on the basis of the writing could be placed in the third century A.D., bearing enough resemblance to P.Flor.II 175 (dated to 255 A.D., plate CXXV in *Scrivere libri e documenti*), P.Lug.Bat.I 20 (assigned to the III A.D.,

plate 25 in Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri*) and less to P.Flor.I 6 (dated to 210 A.D., plate CXX in *Scrivere libri e documenti*). Taking into account that the earliest attestation of the μείζων is in 247 A.D. (see below, n.17), the letter could be assigned to the second half of the third century till the reform introduced by Diocletian (about 297 A.D.), when the office of the epistrategus in the Heptanomia disappeared (see Thomas, 1982, pp.64-68).

Regarding the content, this fairly long letter is the prompt response of Ammonius, Herais and Euporus, presumably siblings, to a letter of their parents and Hermeinos, which had informed them about the recent behaviour and reaction of their debtor Kephalon. The present letter instructs them, perhaps owing to their local proximity to the authorities, to proceed to take legal action for the recovery of the debt or the execution of a pledge. Unfortunately, the letter does not contain specific information about the nature of the contract and the pledge. It focuses on three main steps, namely μετάδοσις, ἐγγραφή, and after these two being sorted out, an ἔντευξις. However, as it frequently occurs in private letters, information is conveyed in a vague and allusive way which often creates ambiguity. For instance, we are not informed whether to Kephalon's reaction- is this actually a formal ἀντίρρησις?- an informal demand for repayment or a formal notification through what is called διαστολικόν has preceded. In the former case, the diastolikon should now be served by the hyperetes (ll.12-3), while in the latter, he should deliver another document, possibly a copy of the χρηματισμὸς ἐνεχυρακίας. Upon receipt of the document, whatever this might be, Kephalon should make the 'ἐγγραφή', an apparently indispensable step in the procedure, for which we lack parallel documentation. It could simply mean 'acknowledgement' of receipt by Kephalon of the document to be delivered to him by the hyperetes, in that case most likely the diastolikon, but other possibilities cannot be excluded. Finally, a petition is mentioned to the higher authority (l.17) without further specification about the content and the addressee. The lack of indications regarding the way the loan was secured, that is through hypallagma or hypotheke, does not allow safe conclusions as for the steps of the process -for instance, the stage of ἐνεχυρακία is discarded for the recovery of a loan secured through hypotheke-. In my attempt to trace the different stages of the process of the recovery of a debt described in this letter, Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten*, particularly pp.99-140,



Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp.531-37, and Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, pp.141-165 were useful.

- Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἡραΐς καὶ Εὐπορος Πρεῖσκω  
 τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ καὶ Θάῃσει τῇ κυρίᾳ μητρὶ  
 καὶ Ἑρμείνῳ τῷ ἀξιολογωτάτῳ πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
 τῇ ιζ τοῦ Ἐπίφ, τουτ'έστιν χθές, γράμματα  
 5 ἐκομικάμεθα διὰ Χαιρήμονος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρταπάτου,  
 δι' ὧν φατέ ὡς τὸν Κεφάλωνα τῇ ἀγνωμοσύ  
 νῃ προσιόντα λέγοντα μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ γράμ  
 ματα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ,  
 γελυότατον πρᾶγμα καὶ θαυμαστόν, οἱ χρεῶσται  
 10 τοὺς δανιστὰς ἐκφοβοῦσι. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα οὕ  
 τως πέπρακται, ὡς φατέ, εὐτόνως μετα  
 λαβέτω κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον, κἂν ἀμελήσῃ ὁ ὑπη  
 ρέτης, τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ αὐτὸν προσενέγκα  
 τε καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταδόσει ποιείτω τὴν ἐνγρα  
 15 φήν, ὡς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν. καὶ εὐθέως μοι  
 διαπέμψατε ὅπως κἀγὼ προσέλθω  
 τῷ μείζονι. ἐξὸν γάρ μοι ἐντυχεῖν περὶ οὗ  
 ἐὰν θέλω πράγματος. τὰ δὲ γράμματα  
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐστὶν ἐν καταχωρικῇ  
 20 μῶ ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῇ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ  
 ἰδιόγρ[α]φα ἀκολούθως τῷ διαστολικῷ.  
 οἶσω δ[ὲ] τῷ μείζονι τὸ ἄλλο μοναχὸν ἐνθάδε,  
 τὸ δὲ ρειπόμενον τοῦτο ἐστίν, τὸ μεταλα  
 βεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνγράψεσθαι. εἰπερ προ  
 25 ἥρηται ἀγνωμονεῖν, ἔχω πρὸς ἔλλεγχον  
 πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις, πρῶτον τὸ γράμμα, δεύτε  
 ρον ἄλλα τινά. καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει δὸς αὐτῷ



τῷ πατρὶ. ἡ προσέλθατε, ἀλλὰ ὥς ἔχοντες  
 τὸ πατρὶ. παρ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ νῦν μὴ  
 30 δεῖ-8-]ν ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ-2-]τῷ ἄγνω  
 μὴ-7-]γραφῆς. καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς μὴ  
 δεῖ-8-]ἄλλο οὐδὲν δύναται γενέσθαι,  
 εἰ μὴ-5-μ]εταλάβῃ καὶ ἐνγράφῃτε καὶ ποι  
 ῆς-4- μεταπ]εμφθῆναι. ἔμαθον γὰρ ὅτι  
 35 καὶ εἰ-12-]ουσιακῶ. μεταπέμπετε  
 αὐτοῖ-10-]την μητέρα αὐτῆς προσαγορεύ  
 σατε-11-]κατ' ὄνομα

(ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 θεοῖς πᾶσιν εὐχόμεθα

Back ↓

40 Πρέϊσκω νεωκόρω (design) καὶ Ἑρμείνῳ τ...στο.ει  
 π(αρά) Ἀμμωνίῳ] δια (design) στολ(έως)

1 l. Πρίσκω 3, 40 l. Ἑρμίνῳ 4 l. τουτέστιν 7 προσῖοντα 9 l. γελοιότατον  
 10 l. δανειστὰς 12-13 ὑπηρετικῆς 14 l. μεταδόσει 14-15 l. ἐγγραφὴν 15 l.  
 κελεύουσι 23 l. λειπόμενον 24 l. ἐγγράψασθαι 25 l. ἔλεγχον 26 l.  
 ἀποδείξεις 27 l. δόντες 28 l. προσέλθετε? 30 ὑπολείπεσθαι 31 ὑμ-; l. ὑμῖν  
 33 ταλάβῃ καὶ: κ corrected from η; αι written *supra lineam*; l. ἐγγράφηται 41 π';  
 διαστο<sup>λ</sup>

‘Ammonius and Herais and Euporus to Priskus, our lord father, and Thaesis, our lady mother, and to the most notable Herminus, many greetings. On the seventeenth of Epeiph, that is yesterday, we received a letter through Chairemon from Artapatou, by which you say that Kephalon because of his refusal to pay approached (you) saying that the document (the handwriting) is not his/ he has no written notification (see n.7-8) , but also that he contacted the epistrategus, the most ridiculous and absurd thing, the debtors are trying to frighten the creditors. Therefore, if these things have happened as you say,

let him promptly receive according to the law, and if the hyperetes/ assistant shows negligence, take him to the epistrategus and upon the notification, let him make the acknowledgement, as the laws order. And immediately send me a notice, so that I also contact the higher authority; because it is possible for me to petition (him) for whatever I may wish. His documents are placed in the registry by the authority with my subscription that they are his autographs in accordance with the diastolikon I will also bring to the higher official there the other copy, what matters then is this, that he receives notice and makes the acknowledgement. If he has really chosen not to pay, I have for scrutiny many proofs, firstly the document, secondly some other things. And do not hand the matter (?) to him in the office or (?) approach him, but having the . . . . from me. And I think (?) that nothing more remains for this obstinate man apart from acknowledgement. And for you who. . . . nothing else can be done, except that he receives and makes the acknowledgement. And have him sent for; for I learned that he also resides at domain land. Send for him. Greet. . . . and her mother. . . . by name. We pray for your health to all gods’.

Address: ‘To Priskus, neokorus, and Herminus, . . . . ., from Ammonius diastoleus’.

1-2 Πρέϊκω τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ καὶ Θαήκει τῇ κυρία μητρί: although πατρί and μητρί could be a honorary address to elder people out of one’s family (see Koskenniemi, 1956, p.105), I think that this letter is actually sent from two brothers and a sister to their parents and Herminus, who cannot be determined if he is also a member of the family, another brother for instance. In P.Gen.III 144,1-2 an Herminus is sending a letter to his brother Ammonius and his sister Herais; however, the identification is highly unlikely, since the letter on paleographical grounds is assigned by the editor to II A.D.

τῷ ἀξιολογώτῳ: a common epistolary honorary address in the roman and later roman period, which is not necessarily used for officials of higher rank, see Hornickel, 1930, p.3.



5 διὰ Χαιρήμο voc: one more reference among the many in the papyrus letters, of people making voyages and trips used as couriers for private letters. For papyrological evidence regarding this reality in post-pharaonic Egypt, see Llewelyn, 1994, pp. 26-47.

Ἄρταπάτου: for the ἐποίκιον Ἄρταπάτου, well attested in the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Pruneti, 1981, p.35.

6ff. δι' ὧν φατέ: in the letter it is not explained how the addressees of this letter learned about Kephalon's approach to the epistrategus, presumably through a petition. Kephalon himself could have communicated it to them in accord to the principle of self-help in the judicial affairs in Roman Egypt (cf. Taubenschlag, 1949, *passim*), or they could have heard from the strategus of the nome, if the case had been delegated to him by the epistrategus. In this period the syntax has deviated from the standards of classical Greek, namely participles preceded by ὧς are used instead of infinitive. For similar cases in the language of the papyri, see Mandilaras, 1973, par.912-917 (pp.370-1).

6-7 τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ: (cf. ll.25,30-1): in the context of this letter it seems to mean refusal to pay, cf. P.Oxy.XIX 2237,13 (498 A.D.) and P.Oxy.XL 3480,17 (360-390 A.D.).

προελθόντα: I think that an expression like διὰ βιβλιδίου is to be understood, cf. BGU II 614,12 (III A.D., see *BL* I, p.56), since this was the way in which a case could come before the epistrategus (the other two being delegation from a superior, or referral from an inferior), see Thomas, 1982, pp.113ff.

τῷ ἐπιτρατήγῳ: the involvement of the epistrategus in this dispute is rather puzzling and unusual, since he is an official who according to the parallel documents is not expected to interfere in the procedure. Nevertheless, there are a couple of documents which preserve disputes over money debts addressed to the epistrategus, as for instance, PSI IV 281 (118 A.D.), P.Fam.Tebt.43 (182 A.D.) and P.Oxy.I 70 (III A.D.). Such cases referred to the epistrategus normally involve relatively prominent and wealthy



members of the society (cf. Thomas, 1982, p.112), a fact which apparently accords with the status of some at least of the people taking part in this dispute, namely the neokorus Priskus and the diastoleus Ammonius. P.Oxy.I 68 = M.Chr.228 = P.Meyer 47 (131 A.D.) preserves the denial of a money claim (ἀντίρρησις) to a high official, whose name and title is lost, but according to the editors could be the epistrategus (or the archidicastes, see M.Chr., p.249, Meyer, p.156). If this has any chance of being correct, it could be an almost parallel case to ours. In our document it is not made clear whether Kephalon has received the diastolikon before approaching the epistrategus, as is the case in P.Oxy.I 68, or that he had this reaction after an unofficial claim on the part of his creditors.

7-8 μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ γράμματα: I have considered two explanations of this phrase: either that Kephalon does not acknowledge the loan-contract as his own cheirograph, or that he states that he has (received) no written notification. In the former case, γράμματα in this line would be identified with the ones in l.18, would correspond to ἰδιόγρ[α]φᾶ in l.21, and would perhaps suggest that Kephalon has accused Ammonius and the group he represents of falsification (ll.8-10). However, the omission of the definite article before γράμματα provides difficulties. In the latter case, γράμματα would be identified with the διατολικόν, which Kephalon would have to receive, and not with the loan-contract, and αὐτοῦ would be considered an error instead of αὐτῷ.

9 γελυότατον: for the frequent interchange of οἱ and υ, see Gignac I, pp.197-8.

10 ἐκφοβοῦσι: cf. also BGU II 613,18-9 = M.Chr.89 (reign of Antoninus Pius): ἐπέδωκάν σοι ἐμφοβοῦντες με διατολικόν ὑπόμνημα, and P.Diog.17,17 (II-III A.D.).

11 εὐτόνως: this is the second certain attestation of this adverb, the first occurs again in a letter of the late third century A.D. of unknown provenance, namely SB XVI 12326,1-2 = P.Mich. inv.1363: Εὐ<sup>2</sup>τόνως πικρένομε σοι ὅτι οὔτε φάσις λαβεῖν. It should also be considered a likely supplement for P.Mich.XVIII 769,12 (200 B.C.). This adverb should be considered among 'les expressions d' intensité adverbiales' that are listed by Steen, 1938, pp.153-158, which are used to intensify the need for the

instant execution of the order transmitted through the letter. The same function is fulfilled by the adverb εὐθέως in l.15.

11-12 μεταλαβέτω: cf. also ll.14,23-4 and 33. It is not explicit whether Kephalon should receive the diastolikon (see below, n.21) or notification of the ἐνεχυρασία procedure (for the stages of this part of the process of execution, see BGU XV 2472, P.Heid.IV 325, Tenger, 1993, pp.102ff., and Meyer, 1920, pp.143-4). If the former is the case described in this letter, Kephalon must have approached the epistrategus after an informal demand for repayment of the loan, while in the latter case Kephalon must have been delivered the diastolikon, to which he officially reacts by approaching the epistrategus. Cf. also nn.7-8, and 17 on ἐντυχεῖν.

12-3 ὁ ὑπηρέτης: he should belong to the staff of the strategus of the nome, and in this document he is expected to notify Kephalon, the debtor, that his creditors will take (in the first case) or already have taken (in the second) action against him. These particular duties of the ὑπηρέτης, who actually performs a liturgy (Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997, p.48), are described in Strassi, 1997, pp.42-4, and Kupiszewski-Modrzejewski, 1957-8, pp.151-4. The reason and the chance an ὑπηρέτης might have to neglect (ἀμελήσει) a task like this are a matter of dispute, since he was acting under orders. Plausible explanations would be that the ὑπηρέτης or any ὑπηρέτης could be lazy or corrupt, or that he could not act as quickly as they want, particularly in the case when he could not find the debtor to convey in person the διατολικόν or the χρηματισμός, and he should repeat his attempts for tracing him, cf. P.Oxy.XVIII 2198.

13-4 τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ αὐτὸν προενέγκατε: the procedure is presented simplified. In case of the hyperetes' negligence they should petition the epistrategus to have Kephalon summoned. My impression, especially after the reference to the second, this time potential, interference of the epistrategus, is that this occurs due to the likely local proximity of this official to Priskus' residence and possibly to Kephalon's.

14 μεταδόσι: μετάδοσις is a general term for 'notification'; on this general meaning of the term, see Foti Talamanca, 1979, p.80.



14-5 ποιείτω τὴν ἐγγράφην: cf. ll.24 and 33. This should be a legal step in the direction of recovering the debt (ὥς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι), on which unfortunately we lack information. It could be related to special conditions (if any) on which the loan was drawn, and it certainly sounds essential in the procedure, since Ammonius repetitively states that without it they cannot really take further action. According to my first scenario (cf. l.11-2) it should take place between the μετάδοσις διατολικοῦ (ll.11-2,14) and the ἔντευξις to the praefect ?(l.17). This could be partly supported by the fragmented BGU II 614,5-6 (217 A.D.): μεταδοθῇ Αὐρηλίῳ Λογγίνῳ κληρονόμοις Λογγινίας τῆς καὶ Θερμουθαρίου τῆς διὰ τοῦ διατολ(ικοῦ) ἐνγεγραμμένης ἐν [c.29] (having the meaning of registration, but where?). The only known actions which may follow the delivery of the order of payment is the acknowledgement of receipt and the formal denial of the claim on the part of the debtor (ἀντίρρησις). In the context of this letter (ll.7-10) it could mean *indictio*, that is official accusation of the presentation of falsified documents on the part of Ammonius and his group (see n.7-8), cf. Avotins, 1992, p.67 on N.117.9.4: ἐὰν ὁ ἀνὴρ περὶ μοιχείας ἐγγράψῃται τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν μὴ ἀποδείξῃ. More likely, it could simply mean that the debtor should officially acknowledge receipt of the diastolikon that will be handed to him. Acknowledgement of receipt of the diastolikon has survived only in one document, namely P.Oxy.III 485,41-41 (178 A.D.). Finally, one could consider official acknowledgement of the loan-contract he has drawn with Ammonius. In that last case, however, I cannot explain why the procedure could not actually move on, although Ammonius seems to have been given a copy of the loan-contract, and most importantly one copy of it has already been filed in the state archives.

ἐνγράφην: it is worth mentioning that the term ἐγγράφη occurs only three more times in the DDBDP and WL, namely in P.Princ. III 119,39 = SB XII 10989 (early IV), and P.Bal.II 123,7 (VI-VII) and 148 Fr.2,3 (VI-VII).

17 τῷ μείζονι: in the third and early fourth century A.D. the term μείζων or μείζονες denotes a higher official of not clearly identified post, as for instance is used the word ὀφφικιάλιος, cf. P.Oxy.XII 1556,8 (247 A.D.); P.Lond.II 214,22 = W.Chr. 177 (270-5 A.D.); P.Oxy.VIII 1121,22,26 (295 A.D.); XXXIII 2667,10 (309 A.D.); VI 900,19 = W.Chr.437 (322 A.D.); XXXVI 2767,13-4 (323 A.D.); XLI 2969,11 (323 A.D.);



P.Cair.Isid.78,5 (324 A.D.), and see Rouillard, 1928, p.69, and Steinwenter, 1967, p.41. In the context of the procedure of a loan-recovery μείζων may be identified with the *Praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*, to whom the creditor should address a petition (l.17), in order to start the ἐνεχυρασία- or the ἐμβαδεία- procedure. Of course, the vague diction of the letter regarding the content of the petition (ll.17-8) does not allow of definite conclusions.

17-8 ἐντυχεῖν περὶ οὗ ἐὰν θέλω πράγματος: the content and the addressee of this petition is not becoming clear within the space of this letter. This phrase could be a boast of Ammonius that he has friends among the authorities and could work out whatever he wishes. It may also refer to a petition addressed to the praefect, in which the creditor would request that the chrematistae and the archidikastes check the document submitted by him and inform the local authorities what following steps are necessary. Such petition would follow the delivery of the diastolikon to the debtor. If the document to be delivered to Kephalon in ll.11-2, 14, 23-4, 33 is the ἀντίγραφον χρηματισμοῦ ἐνεχυρασίας, the petition should concern the procedure of ἐμβαδεία, that is the legal proceedings for entry upon the possession of the security; for an account of the steps of this process, see D. Hagedorn, 1981, pp.171-189, Tenger, 1993, pp.104ff., Meyer, 1920, p.145.

19-20 παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐστὶν ἐν καταχωρισμῷ: the ἰδιόγραφον loan-contract appears to have gone through demosiosis, that is it should have been deposited in two separate deposit-registries in Alexandria, in the Hadrianeion the original (αὐθεντικόν) and in the Nanaion a copy (ἴσον), after being checked in the καταλογεῖον, the record office, head of which was the ἀρχιδικαστής. For the filing of private contracts in the state-archives of Alexandria, see Cockle, 1984, pp.106-122, especially 116-7, and Burkhalter, 1990, pp.191-215, especially 203 and 207-8.

20-1 ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῇ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἰδιόγρ[α]φᾶ: the loan-contract should have apparently been drafted by Kephalon and possibly signed by both himself and Ammonius, who seems to represent the group of the creditors, cf. e.g. P.Oxy.Hels.36 (167 A.D.), a loan-contract which preserves the signatures of all the parties involved. A second option is that when Ammonius was petitioning the archidikastes for the

δημοσίωσις (publication) of the loan-contract, he could have signed it as being Kephalon's cheirograph, cf. BGU II 578,17-8: τῆς ἀναδόσεως μὴ γεγонуίης βούλομαι ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι τὸ αὐθεντικὸν δικκὸν χειρόγραφον καὶ ἀξιῶ ὑπογράψαντος τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ [.....].ω περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγρα(φον).

21 ἀκολούθως τῷ διατολικῷ (sc. ὑπομνήματι?): this could be a serious indication that the diastolikon has already been sent to Kephalon, before he approaches the epistrategus, unless this expression refers generally to the procedure of the diastolikon. Diastolikon should be the 'order to pay' forwarded from the creditor to the debtor through the strategus. It was not a 'new' document, but actually a copy of the creditor's petition to the strategus, delivered to the debtor by the strategus' hyperetes, to whom sometimes the strategus' order is preserved, and appending copies of previously drafted documents required in the procedure, namely a copy of the instrument of loan, the creditor's petition to the archidikastes, and the dated directive to the strategus by the archidikastes to have this 'order' served to the debtor through an hyperetes. In cases when demosiosis (see n.on ll.19-20) of the loan-contract has not been done before and is now requested, could also be included in the diastolikon after the petition to the archidikastes a subscription by the officials of the dialoge, signifying that the necessary fees for the demosiosis have been paid; for the two types of diastolika, that is with or without demosiosis, see Primavesi, 1986, pp.103-105. The former, that is with demosiosis, seems actually to be the case of the loan-contract forming the background of this letter. The diastolikon normally reverses the chronological sequence, in which the documents are written., cf. for instance P.Oxy.III 485 (178 A.D.), XII 1472 (136 A.D.), LI 3610 (251 A.D.), P.Mich.XI 614 (Oxy., 258/9 A.D., on the date see *BL* VIII, p.216), BGU II 578 = M.Chr. 227 = P.Meyer 46 (Fayum, 189 A.D.) and P.Cair.Inv.10554 R (publ. by Primavesi, 1986, pp.99-114), and Meyer, 1920, pp.142-3.

22 τὸ ἄλλο μοναχόν: this should be Ammonius' own copy of the loan-contract.

23 τὸ ῥεῖπόμενον (l.λειτουργούμενον): for the interchange of λ and ρ, see Gignac I, pp.105-106. However, at the beginning of the word the interchange occurs rather infrequently, the unique example known to me is attested in P.Gen.66,iii,2 (c.346 A.D.):



λαφανίνου for ῥαφανίνου. Milani, 1981, pp.221-9, expresses the view that this interchange is due to the bilingual background of the writers in post-pharaonic Egypt and that this common oscillation in Coptic and Demotic has an impact on Greek.

26-7 δεύτερον ἄλλα τινα: cf. perhaps BGU II 578,10-11: τοῦ προειρημένου διττοῦ χειρογράφου cὺν τοῖς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον γράμμασιν ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται, and 18: περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγρα(φον) cὺν τοῖς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον γράμμασι τοῦ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Μαρτιάλιος (the debtor).

27 ἐν τάξει: in the obscure context of ll.27-29 it is very difficult to determine the meaning of the phrase ἐν τάξει. I would consider the meaning 'in office' to be applicable here, attested e.g. in P.Oxy.XII 1467,23-4 and 30 (ἐν τῇ τάξει) of 263 A.D.

δὲ: presumably, a careless failure of the scribe to adapt his formula for more than one addressees.

αὐτῷ: this could refer to Kephalon, then he would also hold an official position (ἐν τάξει), or to the official, who will deal with the matter (the epistrategus or the meizon).

28 τῷ προ[...].η: this word cannot be identified. I would like to read the title of an official or a name, but nothing known so far satisfies the traces and the space. The large size of η arouses suspicions that it could be the disjunctive ἢ. In this case, we might consider τῷ for a phonetic mistake and read τὸ πρᾶγμα, although the reading is difficult.

29 The diagonal after τὸ ἄ. could belong to a λ and possibly read ἄλλ[λο, or to a ν; in the second case, one would like to read ἀν[τίγραφο]ν, but it appears too long for the space available, unless it is written abbreviated.

καὶ νομίζω?

29-30 μη|<sup>30</sup>δὲν[ ἄλλο πλέο]ν?



30-1 A plausible restoration would be: αὐ[τῷ] τῷ ἀγνώ | <sup>31</sup> μο[νι πλὴν ἐ]γγραφῆς.

32 δευ[α ἀδικοῦσι/ μηδὲν [χρεωστοῦσι?

33 I would supply it as follows: εἰ μ[ὴ αὐτὸς μ]εταλάβῃ.

34 The third trace of the line is more compatible with α than ω. Therefore, the reconstruction to ποιήσα[τε/ ποιήσα[cθε, perhaps with the addition of ὡς, since there seems to be space for two more letters (cf. Mandilaras, 1973, par.773) could be acceptable.

34-5 ἔμαθον . . . [ ] οὐσιακῷ: in these two lines is given the impression that Kephalon should be traced, in order to be summoned and make the ‘ἐγγραφήν’. The difficulty for finding Kephalon could be a reason for the hyperetes’ likely negligence (ll.12-3). At this point, however, Ammonius seems to convey information regarding Kephalon’s temporary (?) residence. At the beginning of the line the letter after ε is compatible with ν, whose half middle oblique is visible. Therefore line 35 could be restored for instance as follows: καὶ ἐν[ ἐδάφει/ κτήματι ἐστι/ λέγεται] οὐσιακῷ, which could indicate both domain land and private property, see Parassoglou, 1978, pp.3-13.

35 A full stop could be placed after οὐσιακῷ, so that μεταπέμπετε would be imperative, a mood which occurs very frequently in epistolary context and in this one in particular.

36 At the beginning of the line αὐτόν has to be the object of μεταπέμπετε. Then a female name is expected of about 7-8 letters followed by καὶ: αὐτό[ν-7-καὶ ]τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς προαγορεύ | <sup>37</sup>σατε.

37 A form of the ἀπάζεσθαι-wish may be lost in the gap (see Exler, 1923, pp.113-116). A plausible reconstruction could be: καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ, or a similar phrase.

38-9 ἔρρωσθαι . . . εὐχόμεθα: this formula appeared at the end of the I A.D., and gradually supplanted the older form ἔρρωσο, see Koskenniemi, 1956, pp.151-4, and Exler, 1923, pp.70ff.

40-1 The address is of the second type according to Ziemann's classification (Llewelyn, 1994, pp.34-5, after Ziemann, 1910), the main type in use from the first century B.C. till the fourth A.D. The four types of address are the following: i) τῷ δαίμονι ii) παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος τῷ δαίμονι or τῷ δαίμονι παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος iii) ἀπόδοσ τῷ δαίμονι and iv) ἀπόδοσ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος τῷ δαίμονι or ἀπόδοσ τῷ δαίμονι παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος.

40 νεωκόρω: Priskus, who bears a Latin name, is neokorus, a term which could apply both to people performing modest tasks in the service of a pagan sanctuary or to priests of higher rank (see Wipszycka, 1995, p.183). However, most of the attested papyrological evidence which actually concerns the neokorus of Sarapis, mainly in Alexandria and Hermupolis Magna, supports Otto's view that, since all these people are in charge of at least one ἀρχή (ἀρχιδικαστής, ἐξηγητής, γυμνασίαρχος, πρύτανις), the title neokorus 'wird ihnen sicher keine besonderen priesterlichen Funktionen aufgelegt haben, sondern bedeutete für sie nur einen Ehrentitel' (Otto I, 1905, pp.113-4). Therefore, neokoroi should have belonged to a privileged and wealthy class of the society, which could afford to give loans. For priests in general as creditors of loans, see Tenger, 1993, pp.170-2. Evidence about neokoroi in Oxyrhynchus is scarce, a neokorus Τύχης, that is of a non-Egyptian goddess, possibly implying the Τύχη of the Emperor (cf. P.Mil.Vogl.II 56, intr.), is only preserved in P.Oxy.III 507,5-6 (169 A.D.). He is an ex-agoranomus and gymnasiarch who has again lent money upon security, certainly a member of the upper class in Oxyrhynchus. If Priskus was neokorus in the Oxyrhynchite, he may be neokorus of Tyche (cf. Ronchi, 1974-77, pp.1094ff.) or Sarapis (Ronchi, *op.cit.*, pp.947ff.), although of the latter we lack parallel attestation, and live in the Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλις, which presumably the epistrategus of Heptanomia was visiting at the time being during an ἐπιδημία; for information on the residence and the journeys of epistrategus, see Thomas, 1982, pp.57-64.

τ..στο.ει: this word should presumably conceal the job of the ἀξιολογώτατος Ἑρμῖνος (1.3), which cannot be identified. I would expect a rather prestigious job, ending in -εύς. The first υ of the word Αὐρηλίου and that of τοῦ belonging to the account written on the back of the letter along the fibres of the papyrus ‘mar’ the reading of this word, of which long verticals are discernible before c and after o.

41 διαστο<sup>λ</sup>: similarly to the structure of the above line I consider this abbreviation to consist Ammonius’ profession, namely that of διαστολεύς. There are few attestations from the late third and fourth century A.D. regarding the function of a διαστολεύς, who according to them could be either a liturgist working for the state as collector of certain taxes (should be added in Lewis, <sup>2</sup>1997), or a private banker (τραπεζίτης) as most likely in BGU IV 1064 (277/8 A.D.) and P.Charite 38 (300-350 A.D.). Ammonius is probably one of the earliest diastoleis known so far. For a discussion of all the available evidence concerning διαστολεύς in the third and fourth century A.D., see P.Heid.IV, pp.111-116.



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